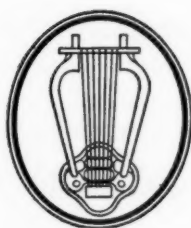


The Musical Quarterly

CARL ENGEL, *Editor*

VOL. XIX, 1933



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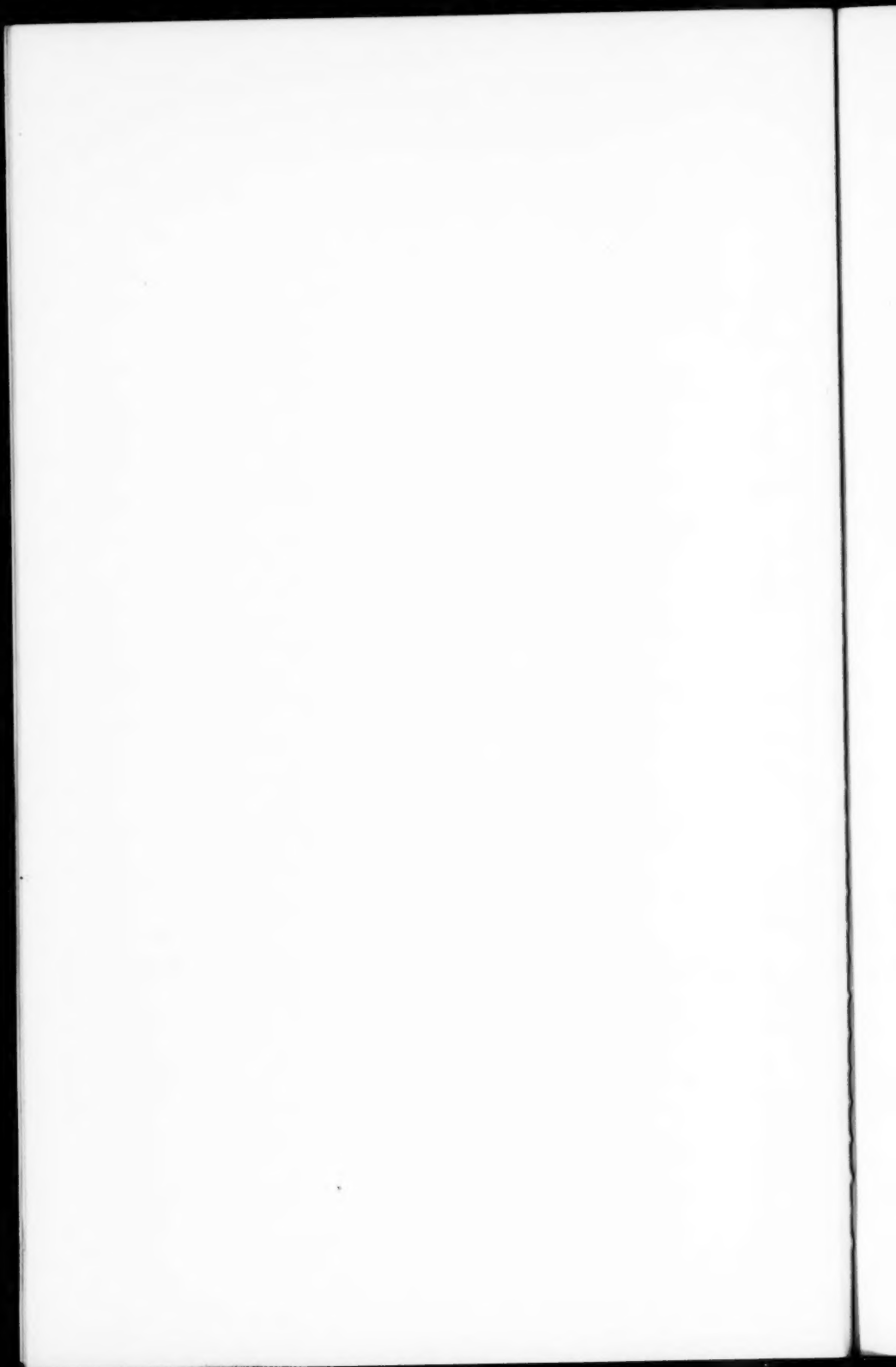
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JANUARY, 1933

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THE MUSICAL QUARTERLY

Founded in 1915 by RUDOLPH E. SCHIRMER, under the Editorship of O. G. SONNECK

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THE MUSICAL QUARTERLY

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE NEW ENGLAND PURITANS AND MUSIC

By PERCY A. SCHOLÉS

AT first sight the publication of this article may seem to be a rather impudent enterprise. An Englishman steps in to correct American history. In excuse it may be pointed out that at the period with which the article is concerned, the territory of whose social habits it treats was British soil. Here, then, is legitimate common ground for the British and the American historians, and, indeed, ground that cannot be adequately explored without a double study—a study of conditions in the old country and the new; and perhaps a forty-nine per cent. American like myself (British by birth but close on half-American by sympathy) is the proper person to undertake this.

The thesis of this article is very simple: *Every writer upon American music, practically without exception, has made the statement that the New England ecclesiasts hated and forbade musical activities; it is suggested that there is not a word of truth in this.*

I hope, before long, to develop this thesis at greater length. Meantime it seems right to give a report of the progress of my investigations and to do so in the natural repository for such a report, America's one "learned" musical journal. Should any slip of fact or of inference have been made it may thus, before I commit myself further, be brought to light by one of my fellow-readers of that journal.

I.

THE ALLEGATION AGAINST THE NEW ENGLAND PURITANS

The allegation that the New England Pilgrims and Puritans detested music, making it a part of their religious duty to oppose, and even forbid by legal enactment, all musical activity beyond the singing of simple, unisonous psalm tunes, is to be found in dozens or hundreds of American books and magazine articles, and in a few British ones. It appears, very clearly stated, in Mr. John Tasker Howard's recent and admirable book, *Our American Music*. He tells us that the Puritans had a "fear and hatred of lighter diversions" (p. 54), looked on music as "the invention of the devil" (p. 19), had "strict bans against it" (p. 17), and so forth. In this Mr. Howard is not a bit more positive and downright than other writers. He is relying upon a tradition that is so widespread and so universally accepted that he may be said to occupy the relatively blameless position of believing what everybody else believes. He could bring very imposing authority for his statements, not only from previous writers upon the history of music in America, but also from American general historians of standing.

As illustrating the "Puritans-hated-music" motif in its most pungent orchestration, I quote the following:

1. Of instrumental music, there was practically none in early New England. . . . In 1675 one of the states enacted a law "that no one should play on any kind of music except the drum, the trumpet and the jew's-harp." Why these three instruments were excepted from the ban is unknown. (Howard, *Our American Music*, 1931, p. 11.)

2. On Sundays, "no one . . . could make mince pies, dance, play cards, or play any instrument of music, except the drum, trumpet and jew's-harp." (Oliver Chitwood Perry, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of History, West Virginia University, *A History of Colonial America*, 1931.)

There, in two recent historical works of importance, one of them a history of music and the other a political and social history, we have the same picturesque tradition. Mr. Howard retells it in its customary form, with the prohibition wide and all-embracing; Professor Perry has adopted a form which is, so far as my reading goes, peculiar to himself, for he has imported into it a limitation to Sunday. In both passages we see the use of quotation-marks, with their comfortable suggestion of authenticity, and in both is there that circumstantial allusion to three particular instruments, including (surely very surprisingly) the jew's-harp. I shall have something which I think rather interesting to say about the jew's-harp before I have done.

II.

THE ENGLISH PURITANS AND MUSIC

The Puritan movement in religion and life was one thing on both sides of the Atlantic; the doctrines were the same, the standards of conduct identical. There was a good deal of coming and going between the two countries. English Puritan literature was widely imported into New England and New England divines throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries often published their works in England (or Scotland, e.g. Jonathan Edwards, first half of the eighteenth century, published a good deal in Edinburgh).

New England was the land of freedom to discouraged Puritans at home; if it had not been for a certain vote in the House of Commons going the right way by a narrow majority, Hampden and Cromwell would have given up their hopes of happiness in their native country and settled there; and some of the active spirits in the Puritan revolution in England were men who had established themselves in New England and then drifted back. Winslow, for instance, Mayflower pioneer and governor of the Plymouth Colony, returned to England as agent for the Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies under the Commonwealth, and died upon a Commonwealth naval expedition against the Spanish; and Hugh Peters, Salem divine and then one of the founders of Connecticut, returning home, became chaplain to the Council of State, and at the Restoration lost his head as an instigator of the execution of Charles I. These are just two examples.

I do not want to labour the point, and so I hope that it will be accepted without argument that English Puritanism on the two sides of the Atlantic was one and the same, and that in attempting to arrive at an opinion as to the New England Puritan attitude towards music it is not only legitimate but also very desirable first to find out the attitude in England, where the more settled conditions of life made possible a greater development of music, and where the fuller documentation now makes investigation very much easier.

We have in English history a period of eleven years (1649-60) when the whole country was under Puritan rule; a Puritan Parliament could make what laws and ordinances it pleased; a Puritan army was available to enforce Puritan ideals. At one time it was believed by every British musician that during this period the voice of music was silenced. So far as I can trace, the dissemination of this legend was begun towards the end of the eighteenth

century, and was due to our first British historians of music, Hawkins (1776) and Burney (1776-89). The anti-republican and Anglican bias is very strong in these writers, and they make very downright assertions as to the interference with musical activities of the English Puritans. Strangely enough, they themselves scatter about their pages numerous pieces of evidence that music was well cultivated during the Puritan rule of England, but, unconsciously, they keep apart this evidence and their assertions, and never so much as notice the incompatibility. This blind acceptance of the anti-musical myth continued, so far as I know, until 1895, when Henry Davey issued his *History of English Music*. Succeeding writers, as Nagel (*Geschichte der Musik in England*, 1897) and Ernest Walker (*A History of Music in England*, 1907) have fully agreed that the old statements about the English Puritans' hatred of music were unfounded, and it is only rarely, and then generally in some quite irresponsible quarter of cheap journalism, that they are nowadays revived.

It will require a book, and a pretty big one, to mass together the available evidence that the English seventeenth-century Puritans had no antipathy to music. Partly it is negative: whatever may have been said to the contrary, there is no law or ordinance against music (as such) to be found in the archives. There is an ordinance (1644) against organs and elaborate music in churches, for they, admittedly, were anathema to the Puritans. (Remember that the whole Eastern branch of the Christian church, with an estimated membership of 145,000,000, will to this day admit the use of no musical instrument in worship. The objection is, then, very ancient and far extending.)

You may find in Puritan England ordinances regulating street music and tavern music (both still under regulation in our present-day quite un-Puritan England). But it is, as I have said, impossible to find any enactment whatever against music *as such*, and the following selection of facts should conclusively prove that the statements of the anti-Puritan historians of the past are utterly untruthful.

1. Leading Puritans are known to have been keen music-lovers. Cromwell had attached to his court a little body of ten of the most admired vocal and instrumental performers of the day, much as the Stuart kings who preceded and followed him also had their musical bodyguards. When he died, these ten musicians formed part of his funeral procession. We can read of his entertaining a foreign embassy with his domestic music, and when he sent a certain embassy abroad, we have an account of its being accompanied by an official group of musicians, whose performances contributed to the welcome it received from the foreign court.

2. Puritan writers took their co-religionists' acceptance of music for granted. Milton, the great poet of Puritanism, was a performer on the organ and a keen music-lover, as may be seen by the most cursory fluttering of his pages (and, by the way, not only those of his poetical works; see also his *Tractate of Education* and his *Areopagitica*). George Wither and Andrew Marvell are other Puritan poets of the period who have written feelingly and eloquently on the pleasures of music.

Bunyan, the Puritan allegorist, shows, in his *Pilgrim's Progress* and his *Holy War*, his delight in music and his complete lack of any suspicion that its enjoyment is inconsistent with the Christian life.

3. Music often took a suitable place in education in Puritan days. Milton's claims on its behalf in his *Tractate of Education* have been mentioned above; he had boys' schools in mind. In Flecknoe's *Enigmatical Characters* (1658) may be seen allusion to its place in the curricula of girls' schools. There is a most interesting and very full description of a Puritan young lady's musical education in *The Virgin's Pattern* (1661). The great Roundhead soldier, Colonel Hutchinson, was brought up to music by his Puritan father, and so, in his turn, brought up his own children (see his life by his wife). Bulstrode Whitelocke, one of the most prominent Puritan statesmen who surrounded and supported Cromwell, in his memoirs, urges his children to study music seriously, to "endeavour to gett some perfection, as I did, and it will be the more ornament and delight to you." And so on!

4. Musical apprenticeship went on as usual during the Puritan rule; the Middlesex County Records show youths being apprenticed to music just as to any other trade. The higher branches of the profession were actively pursued; Playford's *Musical Banquet* (1651) gives a sort of directory of the principal "Masters of this Art and Science" then in London—twenty-seven names, with the indication "cum multis aliis."

5. The Puritan government paid some arrears of salary to Charles I's musicians, allotted some of the revenues of the cathedrals to the support of the former choristers, and actually did what no British government has done since (though it has been much needed)—appointed a "Committee for Advancement of Musicke."

6. Although the spoken drama was prohibited during the Puritan rule (at least in public theatres), masques were performed (even officially, as when the Portuguese ambassador was honoured with one), and the new entertainment of opera first entered England at this very period, being regularly and publicly given and supported by some of the leading Puritan lawyers and statesmen—such as Maynard and Whitelocke.

7. A great variety of music was published, including catches, dance music, and instrumental music. And the publisher was John Playford, Parish Clerk of the puritanised Temple Church, whose shop was in the Temple itself, under the very eyes of the law.¹

A great deal more evidence than that is, as I have said, available as to the complete musical liberty the Briton enjoyed during the

¹Some American readers may perhaps not know that the "Inner Temple" and "Middle Temple" (so called because occupying that estate, south of the Strand, which was once the headquarters of the Knights Templar), are two of the "Inns of Court"—the ancient societies which have the entire governance of the profession of the bar in England. The Temple Church is, then, the church of the law, controlled by those judges and barristers who make up the Societies of the Inner and Middle Temple. It is now a great centre for fine music.

days of the Puritan rule, but the above will be sufficient for our immediate purpose—if I add the hint that crossing the Atlantic does not suddenly and completely change the character and opinions of a people.

III.

EVIDENCE AS TO NEW ENGLAND MUSIC IN COLONIAL DAYS

It has been claimed by an English writer that the Mayflower Pilgrims had musicians amongst them. "There had been musicians on the Mayflower in 1620," says Henry Davey.² I have not been able to find sufficient confirmation of this interesting statement, though I think I recognise on what evidence it is founded.

One thing of which we may be sure is that if some members of that Leyden Separatist congregation were in the habit of recreating themselves with the music of lute or viol, or the singing of madrigals, their pastor, the revered John Robinson, would never have reproved them. It was a period when music was greatly cultivated in England, and when the houses of the nobility often had their musical equipment and staff of domestic musicians—for example, Hengrave Hall, near Bury St. Edmunds, where, as Dr. Fellowes has shown us, the Kytson family maintained a music room, with a great variety of instruments, a library of music, and a staff of musicians, with the great madrigalist, Wilbye, in charge of all. It is to such conditions as those that Robinson alludes in his essay *Of the Use and Abuse of Things*.³

A follower of a great lord was wont to say that he had, in effect as much as his lord, though he were owner of little or nothing, considering how he had the use of his lord's garden and galleries to walk in, *heard his music with as many ears as he did*, hunted with him in his parks, and ate and drank of the same as he did, though a little after him; and so for the most of the delights which his lord enjoyed.

We may even go a little behind John Robinson, to the very founder of the Separatists, Robert Browne (1550-1633). From the tract, *A Three-fold Discourse*, we find that he was "a singular good lutenist" and that he taught his children to perform. On Sundays "he made his son Timothy bring his viol to church and play the bass to the psalms that were sung." Now this obviously refers to the later period of Browne's life, when he had reverted to Episco-

²History of English Music, 2nd edition, page 249.

³"Observations Divine and Moral, Collected out of the Holy Scriptures, Ancient and Modern Writers, both divine and human, as also out of the Great Volume of Men's Manners, tending to the furtherance of Knowledge and Virtue" (various editions, 1625, 1628, 1638, 1644, 1654).

palianism, but it is evidence, nevertheless, that the founder of the Brownists was never against instrumental music, for a man does not, in middle life, suddenly become "a singular good lutenist" by dint of joining the Church of England. And, by the way, it is not to be taken for granted that the founder of the sect to which the Mayflower Pilgrims belonged ceased to hold the characteristic Calvinistic doctrines when he rejoined the Church of England. He had ceased to insist on separatism and was now, probably, a normal Puritan.

* * *

I see, then, no reason to accept the statement so often made that the Pilgrims were antagonistic to music. There is, so far as I can find, no scrap of evidence in this sense, whilst against it we have the fact that no seventeenth-century religious body in England is known to have opposed music, except the Quakers, who arose later (George Fox, born 1624).

As for the Massachusetts Bay Colony, the American "Puritans" proper, I offer the instance of their admired poet, Anne Bradstreet, as showing that they had, even in the early days, nothing against music. That colony began in 1628, and Mrs. Bradstreet arrived in 1630; she was only about eighteen but was already married to Simon Bradstreet, son of a Puritan minister in Lincolnshire. Her father, Thomas Dudley, was with her. Both her father and her husband served terms of office as governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The family was a strictly Puritan one. I would even call the father stubborn and narrow in matters of theological opinion. Anne must have been a chip of the old block, or we should not find Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia*, describing her as "the crown of her father." Note, too, that this great Puritan pastor says that her poems are "a monument to her memory beyond the stateliest marbles," and then see their musical allusions, which show a commendable acquaintance with the musical terminology of the day (*italics mine*):

I heard the merry grasshopper then sing,
The black glad Cricket, *bear a second part*,
They kept one tune, and *plaid on the same string*,
Seeming to glory in their little Art.

(*Contemplations*, 1678)⁴

Again:

From school-boys tongue no rhet'rick we expect
Nor yet a *sweet Consort from broken strings*,

⁴1678 is merely the date of publication; I have no evidence as to the date of compilation, but in 1678 Mrs. Bradstreet had been dead six years.

Nor perfect beauty, where's a main defect;
 My foolish, broken, blemish'd Muse so sings
 And this to mend, alas, no Art is able,
 'Cause nature made it so irreparable.

(Prologue, 1650)

It may be said that since, as we see, leading spirits amongst both the body to which the "Pilgrims" belonged and that to which the "Puritans" belonged thus show, in their writings, that they accept music and the use of musical instruments as a part of normal life, we should expect to find evidence of the actual presence of the instruments themselves in New England. I have not a bit of doubt that there were some such instruments in use, though in the earliest days of the settlement the life was not of such a nature as to encourage the practice of the arts.

Mr. W. Dermot Derby, in the *Music in America* volume of *The Art of Music*, edited by Daniel Gregory Mason (1915), has said:

So far as we know there was not a musical instrument in New England before the year 1700.

He goes on to speak of the inventories that remain, which show us the property of which people died possessed, and adds:

But of musical instruments the testamentary literature of New England makes no mention.

I am not at all surprised at these statements, for I have myself examined all such inventories as are available in print, and the general absence of mention of musical instruments is certainly striking. However, I can, as it happens, upset the neat completeness of Mr. Derby's statement by pointing to the will of Mr. Nathaniell Rogers of Rowley, 1664, given in the *Records and Files of the Quarterly Court of Essex County, Massachusetts*.⁵ Mr. Rogers left:

A treble viall, 10s.

That I could produce no more than this after long hours of research disappointed me, but my wife, who was helping me with the task, and who is not merely a musician but a domestician, cheered me by pointing out that if I had been looking for tables and chairs I should have been almost as disappointed. Yet the colonists must have possessed tables and chairs and when they died cannot have taken them with them. These inventories are, then, obviously incomplete. Certain articles seem to have been recognised as

⁵Vol. III, page 231.

worthy of being inventoried and certain others, for some administrative reason, as not. As Mr. S. A. Eliot says, in *A History of Cambridge Music*:

Furniture, with the exception of beds and mattresses, is seldom mentioned as an asset in the wills of the period.

I could go much further into this question of testamentary inventories, but there is no space here. I will only add that I think that the social class from which the settlers came has also to be taken into account in considering the scarcity of mention of musical instruments (as in considering the equal lack of mention of pictures). As James Truslow Adam says in *The Epic of America* (1931):

The aristocracy remained in England, and with scarcely an exception, the thousands who came were from the middle and lower classes, fleeing from persecution or hard social and economic conditions. . . . These earliest Americans were laborers, tradesmen, artisans, and such, with a slight sprinkling of moderately well-to-do and educated gentlemen.

Now this is not the class that in England owned virginals, lutes or viols. As the first century of colonization wears on, however, and life becomes more comfortable, and documentation of another type becomes available, we find the mention of instruments growing commoner. For instance in 1699, dear old Judge Sewall records in his diary:

Was at Mr. Hillers to enquire for my Wife's virginals, which suggests that there was a tradesman in Boston at that time either selling or repairing virginals; and I should certainly guess that there would be such by then. A little later there certainly was, for only seventeen years afterwards (April, 1716) we find this advertisement in the *Boston News Letter*:

This is to give notice that there is lately sent over from London, a choice collection of Musical Instruments, consisting of Flageolets, Flutes, Haut-boys, Bass-Viols, Violins, Bows, Strings, Reeds for Haut-Boys, Books of Instructions for all these Instruments, Books of Ruled Paper, To be Sold at the Dancing School of Mr. Enstone in Sudbury Street near the Orange Tree, Boston.

NOTE. Any person may have all Instruments of Musick mended, or Virginalls and Spinnets Strung and Tuned at a reasonable Rate, and likewise may be taught to Play on any of these instruments above mention'd; dancing taught by a true and easier method than has been heretofore.

That advertisement of the organist of the Episcopal King's Chapel has been previously reproduced, but I do not know

whether it has received the careful attention of the people who talk about the anti-musical Puritan New Englanders. After all, in 1716, only eighty-seven years had elapsed since Massachusetts first began to be settled; a good many of the first generation of born-Bostonians were still alive, and we are well within the period which writers have in mind when they tell us of the anti-musical obstinacy of the New Englander. We cannot suppose that in 1716 there suddenly and unexpectedly came into existence a buying public for all these different kinds of musical equipment; it is perhaps significant that Enstone stocked only the somewhat less expensive instruments, though he repaired and taught the others, but still he had laid down capital in his "choice collection," and he would not have done that without reasonable expectation of customers. (As for his keeping a dancing school, I will allude to that later.)

Has sufficient notice ever been taken of Judge Sewall's many references to music in the most entertaining Diary from which I quoted above? I am aware that his allusions to his church precentorship, and the embarrassments it sometimes brought him, have often been quoted, but why is nothing said of his various mentions of instrumental and other secular music?

In 1689 he visited England, and it is clear that he made use of such musical opportunities as presented themselves. For instance, in Coventry, he says:

April 10. Had three of the City Waits bid me good morrow with their Wind Musick.

At Cambridge he tells us:

Mr. Littell dined with us at our Inn: had a Legg Mutton boiled and Colly-Flower, Carrets, Roasted Fowls, and a dish of Pease. Three Musicians came in, two Harps and a Violin, and Gave us Musick.

And in London, visiting the home of a relation, he records:

Cous. Sarah played on her Flute. Cous. Atwell sings well.

But what do you think of him and his Bostonian companion going to one of the public concerts which (mostly in taverns) had lately come into existence in London?

Mr. Brattle and I went to Covent Garden and heard a Consort of Musick.

Of course I know of the charge (I have no doubt, malicious) that some present-day Americans go to a type of entertainment in Europe from which they would keep away in their home town;

but the Judge had no touch of Babbity, and you could trust him anywhere without his wife. Boston concerts only began the year after his death, or I am sure he would have been amongst their supporters.

Does the following suggest a Puritanic hatred of music amongst Boston people:

Jan. 16th. day 1696. One with a Trumpet sounds a Levet at our window just about break of day, bids me good morrow and wishes health and happiness to attend me.

* * *

I could give a good many other quotations from the Judge (surely a sound enough Puritan and yet a declared and fervent music-lover), but I must leave them to some occasion of larger space. It is time to return to the "trumpet, the drum and the jew's-harp," and to attempt to track to its origin the strange legend that these were the only instruments allowed in Puritan New England, or, at all events, in one of the colonies thereof.

I suggest the probability that Mr. Howard, Professor Perry, and the other most respectable writers who have, in various forms, repeated this legend have derived it from a statement in Weeden's *Economic and Social History of New England* or some similar work. And thence tracing it back we at last arrive at the actual source in *A General History of Connecticut by a Gentleman of the Province* (1781, with other editions in 1782, 1829 and 1877). I can find no authority for the legend earlier than that, nor, to tell the truth, do I believe that before or after the Rev. Samuel Peters, who wrote this last-named work, was there any New Englander with the combination of an imagination equal to such an invention and a lack of conscience equal to its dissemination. Now before we go further into what Peters told the world, let us just recall who he was. He was a Connecticut Episcopalian clergyman who, when times of trouble came, put his money on the wrong horse. He stuck by my George instead of by yours (the Third instead of Washington), got into trouble with his neighbours, found it best to slip away, and, safe in England, retaliated by publishing what at once became known in his native colony as "The Lying History." It is Peters who told the tale of Bellows Falls, where the river "being consolidated by pressure, by swiftness between the narrow, pinching, sturdy rocks," goes suddenly solid, so that "no iron crow can be forced into it." And it is Peters who, so far as I can find,

invented the legend of the Connecticut "Blue Laws," including this one, which he calls "Blue Law, 35":

No one shall read Common Prayer, keep Christmas or Saints' Days, make mince pies, dance, play cards, or play any instrument of music except the drum, trumpet and jew's-harp.

That very sound historian, J. Hammond Trumball, thoroughly exposed Peters in two amusing and valuable little books in 1876 and 1877, *The True Blue Laws of Connecticut and New Haven and the False Blue Laws of the Rev. Samuel Peters*, and *The Rev. Samuel Peters: his Defenders and Apologists*. In the former of these books he says:

There are regions in which schools and printing presses have been at work where Peters' History of Connecticut is still read *as history*. There are hundreds who still believe—and thousands who profess to believe that to kiss one's child on the Sabbath-day, to make mince pies and to play on any instrument except the drum, trumpet and jew's-harp were made criminal offences by the ancient laws of New Haven.

Over half-a-century more has passed and though it cannot, perhaps, be said that Peters is still "read as history," yet it is still true, as we have seen, that "hundreds still believe" some of the far-fetched untruths of Peters, without knowing, however, whence they were fetched. To take an example: Professor Perry, who gives us that sabbatarian modification of Peters' "trumpet, drum and jew's-harp" law, evidently does not know where he got it, though he lists the various Peters-Trumball literature in his bibliography.

Is it really necessary, at this time of day, to declare that no such law existed? I can with the highest confidence affirm this. The ancient laws of Connecticut and New Haven are all before me as I write. *Not one of these laws so much as mentions music*, a subject with which Puritan legislation in New England as in Old England simply did not concern itself.

Then why was Peters so circumstantial? Reader thou hast never lied, or thou would'st know that precise circumstance is the very life-blood of a lie!

But why these particular circumstances? Why this exception of "trumpet, drum and jew's-harp"? Reader, dost thou not know that one detail in a lie that the listener can of his knowledge controvert crumbles the whole elaborate structure?

The people of Peters' day knew that those martial instruments, the trumpet and the drum, were in use amongst the early American settlers (the drum, indeed, was more than a martial instrument;

it was the only ecclesiastical one—the church bell of the period). And some of them knew that the jew's-harp was a common object in early American colonial life. Read Horace Walpole (letter to Richard Bentley, 4 August, 1755):

At present my chief study is West Indian History. You would not think me very ill-natured if you knew all I feel at the cruelty and villainy of European settlers: but this very morning I found that part of the purchase of Maryland from the savage proprietors (for *we* do not massacre, we are such good Christians as only to cheat) was a quantity of vermillion and a parcel of jew's-harps.

That was Maryland, but the objects of barter were probably much the same everywhere. Anyhow, I offer you this, which I found in the *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts*.⁶

Court held at Salem, 29th. September, 1653: list of goods stolen from a house: "Seventeen dussen of Jewes harpes, 3 li. 85, and also 'twelve dussen of bells, 1 li. 45.' "These things were prized as they were sold to the Indians."

Peters, I take it (though who am innocent I to penetrate the mind of such a liar?) wished to make an exception or two from his alleged anti-instrument law; plausibility demanded circumstantiality. He therefore exempted these instruments that some of his readers might know were in use in the colony in their grandparents' and great-grandparents' days, and by this very exemption he gave not merely an added plausibility, but also an added grotesquerie to the proceedings of those queer fish, the New England Puritans, whose laws, let me add, were a good deal less "blue" than those of any European country at the same period and were, indeed, merely a collection of some practical commands and prohibitions such as social life in a new country demanded. (I have, as a result of my studies, a positive admiration for the *humanity* of the Connecticut Blue Laws: there was actually one against cruelty to animals.)

IV.

THE PURITAN AND THE DANCE

The result of this part of my investigation has a little surprised me. *Practically no Puritan objected to dancing*—and this is true of both sides of the Atlantic.

In support of this bold assertion I have ten times more evidence than I can offer here—evidence that Cromwell danced, that

⁶Vol. I, page 136; 1911.

Milton and Bunyan had no thought of disapproval of dancing, that other leading Puritan statesmen, writers and divines looked upon dancing as a normal and innocent recreation.

Perhaps it will be most to the point, for present purposes, if I quote from two of the most highly honoured New England ministers, John Cotton (1584-1652) who joined the Massachusetts colony soon after its foundation and became its leading spirit, and his grandson, Cotton Mather (1663-1728).

Shortly before John Cotton left his church at Boston, England, for that at Boston, New England, one of his parishioners, R. Levett, wrote to him for an opinion as to whether dancing and Valentine's Day practices were proper for Christians. This shows us that the question as to the lawfulness of dancing did occasionally arise in the Puritan mind, but Cotton felt able to answer the question decisively:

Dancing (yea though mixt) I would not simply condemn. For I see two sorts of mixt dancing in use with God's people in the Old Testament, the one religious, Exod. XV, 20, and the other civil, tending to the praise of conquerors, as the former of God. 1 Sam. XVIII, 6, 7.

Only lascivious dancing to wanton ditties and in amorous gestures and wanton dalliances, especially after great feasts, I would bear witness against, as great *flabella libidinis*.

I turn to Cotton Mather. He has a sermon called *Corderius Americanus. A Discourse on the Good Education of Children . . . delivered at the Funeral of Ezekiel Cheever, Principal of the Latin School in Boston, who died August 1708, in the ninety-fourth year of his age. With an Elegy and an Epistle by one that was once a Scholar to him.* In this sermon Mather points out (and some educationists of to-day will thank me for printing his words and allowing any who wish to make a modern application) the impropriety of underpaying our teachers. "You will spend money," he says in effect, "on anything your children need—except their solid learning." Then, amongst his examples, he mentions dancing lessons, not condemning them but (rightly, as many of us would admit) suggesting that they have not the *first* claim on the parent's pocket (*italics are the preacher's, in his printed text*):

Worthy of honour are the Teachers that convey Wisdom unto our children. . . . Their stipends are generally far short of their Deserts. . . . I can't but observe with a just indignation; to *Feed* our Children, to *Cloath* our Children, to do any thing for the bodies of our Children; or perhaps *to teach them some trifle at a Dancing School*, scarcely worth their learning, we account no expense too much; at the same time to have the Minds of our Children Enriched with the most valuable Knowledge, here, To what purpose? is the cry; a little Expense, how heavily it goes off! My Bretheren, These things ought not so to be.

So dancing schools existed in Boston in the early days of the eighteenth century, and, we may guess, flourished, since, from what Cotton Mather says, Puritan parents freely sent their children to them.

I am quite aware of the frequent quotation in books on the history of American music of a case in which a dancing-master was refused permission to open a school. Unfortunately the full facts are rarely given and I have not space for them here, but, briefly, I may say that the dancing-master in question was quite clearly a tactless fool to choose a "lecture" (i.e., preaching) day of the week for his classes, and to set agoing the gossip that "'tis reported he should say that by one play he can teach more divinity than Dr. Willard on the Old Testament."⁷

When we enter the eighteenth century we see abundant evidence of the popularity of the dance. Recall for instance Organist Enstone's advertisement, quoted earlier in this article, and note what Henry Bamford Parke says in his recent life of Jonathan Edwards.⁸ He tells how when Edwards' father was ordained (this would be in 1694) they had a dance at his house, and adds, "by 1700 everybody danced except a few of the clergy and graver laymen."

Despite the assertions often made, I have not succeeded in finding any New England law against dancing. There were regulations about dancing in taverns, but these do not bear on the subject, as they were enacted in the interests of public order—like similar enactments in every English city to-day.

Some Puritans, however, did object to what John Cotton calls "mixt" dancing, i.e., dancing by the sexes together. He, as we have seen, allowed it.

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I wish now to add merely a few words of Coda.

First, I should like to make it clear that my wife and I, working intensively, given generous special facilities in the Library of Congress at Washington, have either actually read or in some way gone through absolutely every book in that library which bears upon the history of any part of New England, from the contemporary records of the earliest settlers onwards—thousands of books in all—with particular attention to the enormous number of

⁷Sewall's *Diary* for various dates in November and December, 1685.

⁸New York, 1930.

volumes of carefully collected local material put forth by the many excellent historical societies of the New England states. Our research brought a result that may, if you like, be called negative, but yet, I think, of value: we found *no evidence whatever* of any anti-musical bias on the part of the New England Puritans. And such evidence there certainly would be if half of what has been said about them were true.

Secondly, I should like to thank the staff of the Music Division and that of the Library in general for affording the special facilities I have mentioned, and for ready help whenever it was needed. Especially I should mention that great American historian, Dr. John Franklin Jameson, chief of the Division of Manuscripts, who saved us, in all probability, many days of search by indicating at once the source of certain almost universally accepted errors about New England history. I must not, however, implicate Dr. Jameson if in this article I have myself anywhere drifted into error, for the results of my research have not been reported to him except in the most general terms.

Finally, I wish to thank the Editor of this journal for the hospitality of his pages and to say with what pleasure it was that, after I had completed my rifling of the treasures of Washington, I discovered myself to have been carrying out a task suggested by his predecessor both in the editorship and in the librarianship of the Music Division of that great library. For in *Early Concert Life in America* (1907) my old friend, O. G. Sonneck, has these words, which I must have read long ago and then forgotten:

When reading the histories of music in America we almost gain the impression that the emigrants of the seventeenth century detested not so much the religious, political or economic atmosphere of Europe as the musical, and we feel overawed by the constellation of mysterious motives prompting Providence to send to our shores, out of all the millions who inhabited Europe, just those few thousand beings who had no music in their souls.

Until some historian displays the courage, the skill and the patience to unearth and collect the data pertaining to our musical life before 1700 all ponderous meditations on the subject will remain guesswork. Possibly, even probably, music was at an extremely low ebb, but this would prove neither that the early settlers were hopelessly unmusical nor that they lacked interest in the art of "sweet concord." It was simply a matter of opportunity, for what inducements had a handful of people, spread over so vast an area, struggling for an existence, surrounded by virgin forests, fighting the Red-man, and quarrelling amongst themselves, to offer to musicians?

I have done what I could to bring together such data pertaining to musical life before 1700 (and a few years later) as were

available in that library, and to support these with relevant data from English life during the same period. I hope shortly to set them out in greater fulness. If more can then still be done it will rest with some native and resident American to do it. Of one thing my researches have convinced me: dig down as he will, it is impossible that he should bring to light evidence for the at present almost universally accepted allegation that any New England Puritans looked upon music as "the invention of the devil."

MUSICAL SYMBOLISM

By HENRY PRUNIÈRES

ANY work of art is essentially symbolical; the preliminary conception is born in the realm of abstraction, passes over to the concrete level, and there takes on a form that renders it perceptible to other men. This passing-over, according to Hegel, presupposes a natural relation between the image and the thing signified, and this relation it is that constitutes the symbol.

In painting the materialized conception is perceptible by sight; in sculpture and architecture not only, and principally, by sight, but also to the touch. A blind man can form an idea of the outlines of a statue, of the design of some work in relief. It thus acquires a certain degree of objectivity.

On the contrary, poetry and music, which present themselves to the mind through the medium of hearing, and only to a very slight extent to our sight, appear more independent of the laws of matter. Even when fixed on paper by writing, a poetical or musical work is only potentially effective, its full effect not being realized until it is declaimed or performed. Poetry crystallizes into words, having an acquired signification that is very clear to the hearer; thereby it possesses a higher degree of materiality than music, which springs from the realm of pure sensibility. To evoke the most subtle sensations, the most violent emotions, the most colorful images, music needs only a long-drawn chord or a column of air whose vibrations impinge on the ear.

As will be noted in the sequel, the musician has at command a sonorous palette of astonishing diversity to translate into the language of hearing the impressions registered by his brain; for music, despite the theories now in vogue which cannot resist a serious examination of the question, is in its essence expressive, and seeks to communicate to others the psychic moods that presided over the formation of the symbol.

Herein lies the wide difference between music and architecture. Paul Valéry praises music for escaping, like architecture, from the law of the imitation of nature which rules more or less over the other arts. In music he sees nothing but abstract combinations of sonorous lines and volumes. This, I think, is to confound the end and the means. It is always to represent an idea, an image,

an emotion, that the composer—sometimes even without being aware of it—calls into play the resources of his art. Architecture, by reason of its material character, from the necessity wherein it finds itself to combat and beguile the laws of physics in order to elude them while obeying them, is an essentially objective art; music, on the contrary, remains subjective, and the forms it endows with life serve it to render manifest to men the ideas, sentiments and images wherewith the artist nourishes his imagination.

"By the mingling of tones," writes André Pirro in his *Esthétique de J. S. Bach*, "by the accent of the voices, in the sound of the instruments, the masters, the veritable masters, have addressed themselves to the world of men. They have travailed to communicate to them the emotions of their souls, to unveil the vicissitudes of their hearts, to show forth the pageant of life as graven on their brain."

How is the transposition of the conception, from the abstract to the concrete plane, brought about? Therein lies the mystery; and it is well-nigh impossible to analyse the act that occurs within the depths of the subconscious. I think, however, that music does not escape the laws of imitation to the extent generally supposed, and that in this point Abbé Dubos, in the eighteenth century, saw more clearly than a certain school of estheticians of our own time.

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I do not assert that music represents exclusively sentiments and sensations; I admit that in certain very limited cases it can be a simple disinterested play of lines and sonorities; but such it is only by accident and in an advanced stage of its evolution. In the feud between expressionism and formalism I think there is a fundamental misconception; and in the dispute over words, sufficient care is not taken to define their precise signification. Goethe, when asked by Adalbert Schoepke to define the scope of imitation in music, replied: "Nothing and everything—nothing, so far as it is received immediately by the external sense; but everything that, through the intermediary of the senses, one feels within."

Underlying the creation of the symbol there is always some impression of a sensorial or of a subjective kind. Rhythmical ideas are often awakened by motor or respiratory action. Many are the musicians who seek for ideas while walking, like Beethoven on his interminable cross-country promenades. In

others, rhythmic conceptions are aroused by hearing regular or irregular noises. Lully told of having conceived an air of singular rhythm while on horseback. For a comprehension of Paul Hindemith's music, with its relentless and breathless rhythms, it is not unimportant to know that, being obliged to take long trips across Europe, he penned the greater part of his works on the trains. The tick-tock of a clock suggested to Haydn the curious Andante of his symphony in D, where the rhythm of the pendulum persists in the bass throughout the unfolding of the charming melody.

The musical conception is frequently made concrete by the shock of a visual impression. French musicians are peculiarly impressionable to the charms of nature, and their music is replete with sonorous tableaux of most various sorts signed by Berlioz, Vincent d'Indy, Debussy, Ravel, Jacques Ibert, not to mention earlier ones, such as Jannequin or Rameau.

Manuel de Falla relates that, having brought back from Granada some postal cards for Debussy, the master stopped short at sight of one of them, aglow with color, representing a Moorish gateway in ruins overrun with vines and bathed in sunshine. Debussy exclaimed: "That's magnificent! I'm going to make something of that!" and out of this impression was born the lovely prelude "La Puerta del Vino," a translation into brilliant and sombre tones of the interplay of light and shadow.

It has often happened that a composer was inspired by sensations of hearing or sight, but there are also more complex phenomena. In a letter of November, 1777, the youthful Mozart speaks to his father of Rosa Cannabich, who is "very sweet and lovely, full of grace and amiability," after which he tells quite as a matter of course how he wanted to compose the Andante of his sonata "in harmony with the character of Mlle. Rosa"; and he adds, "'Tis the very truth, as is the Andante, so is she." In this we certainly perceive the origin of the formation of the symbol to have been a complex of visual and psychological impressions.

Beyond a doubt, then, impressions of a sentimental and subjective order play no inconsiderable rôle in the phenomenon that we call inspiration: of joy, or sorrow, or melancholy, are born works wherein these sentiments are vividly expressed. That a composer may convey sentiments without himself feeling them at the moment of composition, is not to be doubted, and it is unnecessary here to return to the problem stated by Diderot in the *Paradoxe du Comédien*; but we may rest assured that he will not express these sentiments with authority unless he has experienced them at some given moment of his existence. In general, a mu-

sician fixes in writing or stores in a nook of his brain the melodic ideas that crowd upon him in the course of his daily life, when he thinks them worthy of preservation. From this point of view Beethoven's notebooks are precious documents. In them one sometimes finds a theme jotted down ten years before it was utilized in a sonata, quartet, or symphony. It is probable that such a theme, translating an impression of keenest sorrow, came to him during a day of suffering. On taking it up again ten years thereafter, although he might be perfectly cool, its mere presence would have permitted him to recreate an atmosphere proper for the bringing-forth of an *Adagio pathétique*.

Furthermore, music can express philosophical or religious thoughts of a comparatively complex character. It will of necessity do so in a manner vague and indeterminate for the hearer, but in a manner singularly precise for the creative artist, who in due course establishes for himself an entire repertory of varied expressions. From this point of view there is nothing more significant than the music of Bach. His chorales, in particular, for a long time perplexed the organists. André Pirro and Albert Schweitzer discovered that the key to the problem was furnished by the very words of the chorales. Having established the symbolical vocabulary of Bach in accordance with the morphology of the melodic motives associated with certain words (such as tears, sorrow, delight, sadness, repentance, hope, remembrance, redemption, etc.), they demonstrated that the chorales constitute musical poems expounding in very precise terms the text of the Psalms. In fact, Bach's style is replete with allusions and metaphors.

The same plan might be followed with Beethoven's works, and it would be seen that his music, far from being a strictly architectural edifice, as some contend, is an intelligently ordered, yet impassioned, discourse full of cries of despair and exhortations to fight, held by an impetuous orator-moralist of the school of Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

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We have seen that the formative process of the symbol starts from a sensation or an emotion. But afterwards, to pass from the abstract to the concrete plane, the artist's imagination must needs discover (as Hegel perceived) a natural analogy between the object signified and the object represented. How does the artist's imagination so possess itself of the sensation as to set forth a representation of it by means of forms perceptible to the ear?

How can an analogy and, as a consequence, an association of ideas establish itself in his mind between the interior or exterior world and the realm of tones?

Herein the phenomenon of imitation must play an important part, even if the artist is unaware of it. Evidently, there is no question of a bald imitation of nature by a reproduction of the sounds that she yields to the ear. True, Beethoven in the Pastoral Symphony lets us hear the cries of the quail and cuckoo; Bach borrows the fanfare of the postilion's horn, Grétry the shrill tone of the whistle; but these are merely episodic flourishes, and we are justified in esteeming but lightly such literal imitations of the external world. The song of the nightingale, caught by the phonograph and interpolated by Respighi in his symphonic poem "Pines of Rome," does not strike me as deriving from the domain, of artistic creation.

The point at issue is to translate into the language of music the phenomena of both the objective and subjective world, for the symbol emanates as well from the one as from the other. Whatever be our point of departure, it is the creative symbol which results therefrom, and which matters. This is what Beethoven desired to express when he said to Bettina Brentano: "It is what the mind receives from music through the senses, it is the incarnation of a psychic revelation."

The musician avails himself of means which are proper to himself, just as the painter does when vis-à-vis with nature. The painter has recourse to design and color; the musician operates with time-intervals, by means of rhythm, intonation, timbre, harmonic combinations. He has at his disposal not only dynamic resources, but also agogic ones. That is why we cannot entirely discard the notion of space in speaking of music. We say of a melody that it ascends, descends, progresses, develops; and these words, that describe the design of the melody as written on paper, correspond to a musical reality.

Both, painter and musician, under the sway of the emotion aroused within them by some sensuous or psychic impression, discover forms which materialize the symbols that shape themselves in their brain by means of natural or acquired analogies.

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There can be no doubt that mysterious analogies exist between the means at the musician's disposal and the sensations and sentiments that he seeks to express. The marvel is that, starting from

so tenuous a bond, the artist can succeed in expressing the subtlest psychological emotions, from profound grief to tender melancholy, from superficial gayety to mystic jubilation, as well as sensorial impressions, such as light, darkness, and many others. As for these, he has at command an entire repertory of analogies that he combines at will.

It has been observed at all periods that slow-moving tones are seemingly inseparable from the idea of sadness, and lively tones from that of joy. Deep tones evoke an impression of ponderousness, obscurity, anguish; high tones naturally express lightness, luminosity, things divine. Only recall the impression of supernatural light produced, in the Prelude to *Lohengrin*, by the harmonics of the violins on the E-string.

When following low tones, high tones give the impression of upward flight, of an upmounting in space. In *Pelléas*, the scene in the vault, with its heavy, dragging harmonies and the bass creeping in the depths, produces an extraordinary impression of uneasiness, of an irrespirable atmosphere, of anguish, alike physical and moral, that expresses with astonishing realism the intentions of the poet. During the following intermezzo the arpeggios, growing lighter and lighter as they rise, prepare the scene that unfolds on the terrace bathed in sunshine; and when *Pelléas* exclaims "Ah! je respire enfin!" he expresses the collective emotion of the entire auditorium.

Dynamic variety provides the artist with yet other means of expression. The *fortissimo* necessarily suggests power, violence, or at times immensity, infinitude; conversely, the *pianissimo* conveys a conception of immateriality. A fine example is, to my mind, the Dance of the Sylphs in *La Damnation de Faust*; another is the brilliant scherzo of the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, wherein the alliance of a lively leaping rhythm with prolonged *pianissimo* effects evokes the teeming world of the elves and kobolds.

Rhythm, with its manifold resources, its syncopations, its pauses, offers significant analogies whose origin is assuredly to be sought in impressions of a physiological order, such as the beating of the heart, regular or perturbed breathing, sighing.

A sigh is commonly expressed by a syncopated or broken design on a line ascending and descending chromatically in analogy with the movement of the breast itself. We find it thus rendered alike by Bach and by Wagner. It became one of the characteristics of a whole school in the "Mannheimer Seufzer." In *Tristan* the Theme of Desire is subsumed in the secular morphology of themes symbolizing sighs. In the Prelude to Act III, by a

flash of genius, it symbolizes at once the Desire and the Ocean whose surf beats inexorably on the strand.

There exists, on the other hand, a symbolism of a melodic order that derives its origin from analogies subsisting between divers species of cries or exclamations and the intervals of the scale. The diatonic intervals are suitable for the expression of placid or joyous feelings, whereas the chromatic accidentals, either diminished or augmented, serve to convey impassioned and intense emotion. Many melodic motives are simple stylistic imitations of natural exclamations like the laugh, or cries of anguish or joy. Down to the seventeenth century great ingenuity was expended on variously introducing, in the *Airs de Cour*, the exclamation "hélas!" which composer and interpreter sought to underscore in the most expressive manner possible through special reinforcement by diminished fifths and sevenths.

Harmony, with its dissonances, offers a wide range of expressive resources. In theory, all dissonances are dolorous, all consonances agreeable; but the ear so swiftly accustoms itself to dissonances, and our auditive sensibility is subject to so many variations, that we nowadays accept as wholly agreeable some dissonances that would have seemed excruciating to the contemporaries of Lully. The symbolism resulting from harmony is therefore highly relative and contingent; the same may be said of instrumental symbolism. Nevertheless, it was for a long time very precisely and rigorously carried out in practice.

The trumpet, associated with the soldier's life, naturally arouses warlike ideas as of battles and triumphs. The tender flute is suited for moonlight scenes; and Lully united it with the muted violins to depict—as Mme. de Sévigné so beautifully expressed it—the "veiled joy" (*joie voilée*) that reigns in the Elysian fields. Towards 1830, on our melodramatic stages, it sighed at the appearance of the unfortunate, persecuted young maiden; contrariwise, the trombone bellowed on the entrance of the villain.

Herein we note a naïve and striking example of instrumental symbolism. Since then there has been a notable evolution. The oboe, so like in tone to a rustic pipe, is no longer confined to rural festivals, as it was for many a year; nor is it condemned to the expression of sadness, as in Bach's cantatas. The clarinet has advanced from the position it held in Weber's scores. The horn is no longer devoted to fanfares of the chase. Little by little the instruments have emancipated themselves from the conventions that weighed upon them; at the behest of a Debussy, a Strauss,

a Ravel, a Stravinsky, they are employed for expressive and descriptive effects of a most extraordinary kind.

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Quite apart from material analogies on the order of those we have passed in review, it is necessary, I think, to take into serious account the existence of conventions which derive from them and which have ended in constituting a repertory of accepted symbols.

We must not forget that music, at the beginning, was not conceived at all independently of words sung. The course of the melody stresses the meaning of the words. In Gregorian chant the Alleluias, which were derived from similar chants in the ancient Hebraic liturgy, express jubilation by ecstatic vocalises flying, as it were, toward heaven. This flight of tones for the expression of mystic joy is to be found at all periods and with all musicians. It is an example of the accepted symbol strongly intrenched.

Since the beginnings of polyphonic art we can see how musicians have sought to express the meaning of words by metaphors. The word *heaven* is presented on high notes, the words *earth* or *hell* on low notes, ascension by rising notes, descent by falling notes, and so forth. Starting with the sixteenth century, the madrigal (whose essential aim is the literal portrayal in notes of the signification of the words) created numerous symbols. Where the text vaunts the firmness of a heart that naught can shake, one voice will declaim on the same note in measured accents while the other voices trace agitated and threatening designs around it. When dying is to be depicted, we shall find a multiplication of dissonances while the leading voice figuratively expires in chromatic progression.

There are designs that can be explained only by the graphic method. The words *chains*, *flight*, are represented by long runs of thirds that wind and sway. I should never finish if I attempted to compile a dictionary of all such musical symbols. One thing is certain: that the greater part of the "madrigalisms" of the sixteenth century are reëncountered in the language of Bach and Mozart, and that even today many and manifest traces of them may be found. Instrumental music uses them to advantage, and, to interpret impressions of sorrow, or joy, or confidence, *et al.*, utilizes formulas employed by the composers of madrigals and motets. Thus it acquired a wealth of expression which had there-

tofore been lacking. Thenceforward it served to express not only the sphere of passions, but also that of ideas and sensations. Certain theorists have sought to prohibit such use; but I fail to understand why anyone should wish to limit the domain of artistic expression. Most assuredly, protests against gross realism are in order. I have in mind an opera where the villain slowly drops poison into a glass—and the drops are counted in the orchestra! Nothing could be more absurd; but wherefore underestimate the musical frescoes of a Lully, who illustrates the mysterious atmosphere of the enchanted isle where Armida is awaiting Renaud, and depicts the flow of the surging waves? Why deny Berlioz, or Liszt, or Saint-Saëns, or Richard Strauss, the right to interpret a poem through the medium of tones?

Liszt tells us that "The poet-musician addresses himself to the task of clearly reproducing, in music, an image whose impress on his mind is clear; a series of soul-states producing sense-impressions of absolute precision and stability." For the object represented is of minor importance as compared with the mood which it induces and which the artist seeks to evoke in the minds of his hearers by the resources at his disposal. True enough, a work brought forth with this intention may not always and infallibly produce the effect desired, for music is too indeterminate an art to insure success. While it can evoke sadness, joy, sorrow, ecstasy, zeal, the spirit of combat, of triumph, of defeat—in a word, any vague and general sentiments—it cannot always impart to the general public its secret intentions. This is why the work should, in its construction, be sufficient unto itself. If one fail to catch the exact subject of the *Symphonie fantastique* or of *Roméo et Juliette*, of the *Danse macabre* or of *l'Apprenti sorcier*, of *Tod und Verklärung* or of *Till Eulenspiegel*, these works are endowed with a form sufficiently beautiful in itself to afford the auditor lively pleasure, even should he not perceive all the author's intentions. It must be remembered, however, that his pleasure is doubled when he is capable of grasping, of gradually discovering, the hidden symbols.

Till Eulenspiegel, for example, is constructed in rondo-form. The ingenious deflexions of the theme that symbolizes this sorry rascal may suffice, with the play of sonorities and timbres, to charm the public; but if there be added a comprehension of the allusions inwoven by Richard Strauss, our delight will be greatly augmented. When, at the end of the poem, the massed orchestra propounds its interrogatory to which the piccolo replies with a *pianissimo* forthgiving of the *Till* theme, we comprehend that it

is Till himself who is answering the questions, and are not surprised, after the two peremptory chords of condemnation, when an arpeggio hoists him on the gibbet.

"Inferior art!" And, pray, why? In painting it was long held that landscapes constituted a genre inferior to that of the portrait or historic scenes. In later times all that has been reversed, and with no more reason. There is no superior or inferior genre. It is Art that counts.

Parallel with the descriptive tendencies illustrated by Berlioz, Liszt, Wagner, Strauss, Saint-Saëns, d'Indy, Ravel, etc., there exists an impressionistic art of remote origin which is apt to appeal less to intelligence than to feeling, which induces psychic reactions. Monteverdi in his madrigals, Lully on many an admirable page, and of late Debussy, have created masterworks in this genre.

The manner in which Debussy transposes into the domain of tones the poem by Mallarmé, "*Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune*," verges upon the miraculous. The sultry atmosphere, the slumber broken by voluptuous dreams, as portrayed by the poet, are interpreted by the musician with a resourcefulness of marvelous efficacy. For him who knows how to hear there are echoes of antiquity in this evocation of mythological Greece peopled with concordant forms; but the images have been animated by the ardent impressionability of the artist.

Like Baudelaire, Debussy discovers secret affinities between perfumes, colors and tones, and reveals them to us by a process that escapes our perception. In *Iberia* he succeeds without material exposition in making us feel the atmosphere fraught with the fragrance, the sounds and the lights of an Andalusian town on a summer's night.

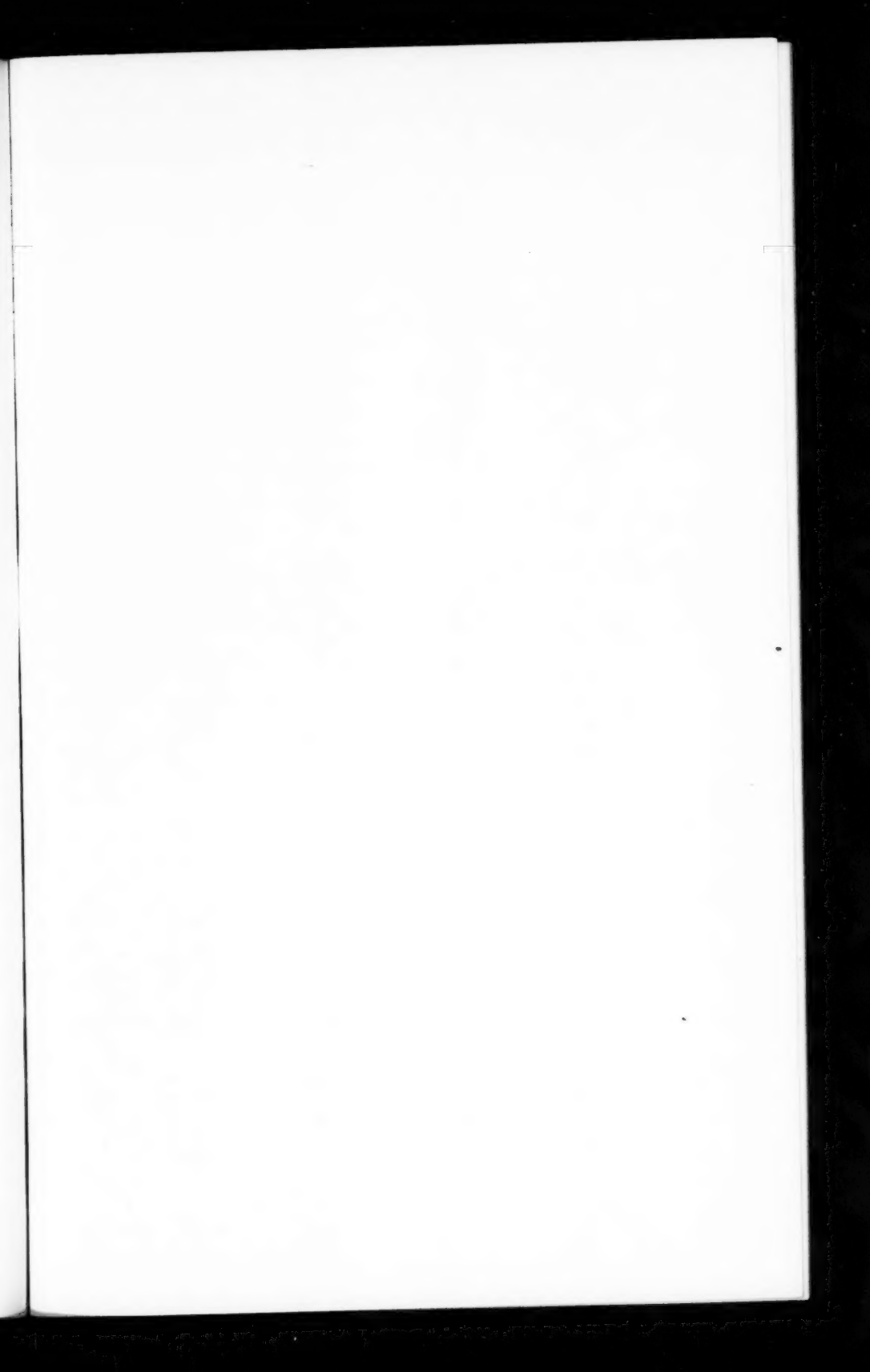
In my opinion it would be a grave error to consider musical symbolism only under the aspect of descriptive or impressionistic art. That music which derives sustenance from the inner life and expresses its vicissitudes, is no less dependent on symbols for its expression than the music of images and sensations. There is no music more teeming with symbols and allusions than that of Bach, which, on the other hand, appears to be constructed in conformity with purely architectural conceptions. Wagner realized the most symbolical music-drama possible, because he clearly defined the signification of a certain number of themes (characteristic symbols) and interwove them in the course of his orchestral polyphony, employed them to interpret all the dramatic and psychological intentions of the poem. The Wagnerian drama corresponds, besides, to the symbolic tendency of the period in literature and

painting, and we can appreciate the emotion it aroused in Baudelaire as well as in Stephane Mallarmé and his group.

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It must be admitted that, while we can analyse in its rudimentary state the phenomenon of the formation of musical symbolism, it eludes our mental grasp when it reaches the degree of complexity to which it is carried, in their various genres, by a Wagner, a Strauss, or a Debussy. There the factor of genius, beyond the range of analysis, intervenes. With the lunatic as with the artist the symbol is formed according to the same process, by virtue of an association of ideas resulting from an analogy—perceived more or less unconsciously—between the sensation received and some means of expression: word, tone, or form. With the lunatic the result is generally an absurd symbol, with the mediocre artist a symbol lacking force and originality, with the man of genius a symbol that materializes in a masterwork. Here we need not occupy ourselves with the singularly obscure and mysterious problem of artistic creation. Let it suffice that we have attempted a summary statement of the principal natural and acquired analogies by virtue whereof the musical symbol, the condition for the creative act, is formed.

(Translated by Theodore Baker)





Sketch from the scene between Senta and Erik (Georg in the draft),
from Act II of "Der fliegende Holländer"

The page begins with "... spricht? Wie?

Zweifelst du an meinem Herzen?"

(By Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

RICHARD WAGNER IN VIENNA

By ALFRED OREL

WHEN Wagner's name is mentioned one thinks, first, of Bayreuth, then, of such localities as Dresden, Munich, Paris, and Switzerland. It is easy to forget that Vienna, too, played an important part in his life and in the destiny of his works.

A center of German culture since late mediæval times, Vienna had for centuries occupied an influential place in the musical life of Europe. The political position of the city as the residence of the German Emperor and of a munificent ruling family was in itself enough to assure this. Indeed, Vienna's first artistic importance was due more to the Imperial Court with its social life, in which so conspicuous a place was reserved for music, than to city, soil, or atmosphere. The second half of the eighteenth century brought a change. The end of baroque culture coincided with the beginning of that long process of development which permitted larger and larger classes of society to take part in the intellectual life and to assist in shaping its course. And no sooner was it possible for a native art to flourish in Vienna than there began that epoch in musical history justly called "The Viennese Period." From thenceforth it was from the soil of that venerable city and its surroundings, saturated with music, that native Austrian and Viennese musicians grew, that strangers drawn from afar obtained their spiritual nourishment. If Mozart could still make the pilgrimage to Italy—once the German musician's Promised Land—there to be initiated into the supreme mysteries of his art, he could also yield to the attraction of the intellectual capital of his Fatherland, where Vienna's own music had won its independence and celebrated its first great triumph in the person of Joseph Haydn.

Vienna now becomes the irresistible magnet that draws and holds young and mature artists alike. A direct line leads from Beethoven to Richard Strauss. And Wagner's spiritual "Pilgrimage to Beethoven" can be understood only in its relation to the city whose spirituality had so tremendous an influence on Beethoven's development. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, when Vienna was the principal scene of action in the encounter between Italian and German opera, the city has remained a battlefield on which the conflict between old and new,

between transitory and eternal values in music, has been fought out again and again. And so the Wagner conflict, for years the central conflict in German music, and perhaps in all music, was in no small part a struggle for the possession of Vienna, a struggle in which Wagner himself repeatedly took an active part in order to gain and maintain the advantage.

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Wagner was just nineteen when he first set foot on the pavements of Vienna. A desire to see the famous musical city for himself had brought him there. It is noteworthy that he recognized at once what was unique and characteristic in Viennese musical life: "Here in the Kaiserstadt," he writes, "the true popular spirit has been kept alive from the beginning, and whatever the Viennese grasp most easily, with their inborn sense of humor and lively imagination, appeals most to their innocent, good-natured disposition." And when Wagner complains in his autobiography that in those days the enthusiasm of the Viennese spent itself on the "extraordinary" Johann Strauss (Senior), that "demon of Viennese musical spirit," and on Hérold's *Zampa*, he singles out, as the reader will do well to bear in mind, just the music that was then most acceptable to the large audience that must always be won over to art. During that summer of 1832 Wagner spent about four weeks in Vienna. The peculiar charm of the city evidently made an impression, for some years later he again included Vienna in his plans for a summer excursion.

Ten years after this first visit, the production of *Rienzi* in Dresden, which at one stroke placed its author in the front rank of German composers for the stage, caused so great a stir that Wagner was invited to write a new work for the Vienna Opera. The sketch of *Lohengrin* lay before him then, and for a time he thought of working it out with Vienna in mind. Yet a long period of hesitation ended with Wagner refusing the Viennese commission, offended, perhaps, by a spiteful criticism published in Vienna's leading musical journal. Some years later there was to have been a performance of *Rienzi* at the Theater an der Wien, Vienna's second opera-house, but this plan too came to nothing, and another ten years passed before the Viennese public became acquainted with Wagner's music.

In 1832 an untried musician had made his pilgrimage to the city of the great masters; now, on July 9, 1848, it was a mature artist who came there, an artist filled with an unquenchable

thirst for freedom, swept along by the revolutionary storms then raging in Germany and Austria. Wagner had already hailed the Viennese revolt from Dresden in a poem; news of its first successes caused him to leave hastily for Vienna. With the whole fire of his impulsive nature he sought out the leaders of the movement at once and discussed with them a plan for the complete reorganization of the local theatre. His ideas evidently had the warm support of those interested in the proposal, for his new friends actually considered placing him at the head of the Vienna Opera. Having spent only two weeks in Vienna, Wagner returned to his post at the Dresden Court Opera, confident that he had planted seeds in fertile soil. Political developments in Austria put an end to his schemes; it is possible, too, that part of the blame for their collapse belongs to certain of the Viennese leaders who, despite their great enthusiasm, were lacking in tenacity and incapable of successfully converting ideas into action. Then, of course, the change in Wagner's own position—his flight to Switzerland—altered the situation completely. On his first visit it was the popular element in the Viennese make-up that had attracted Wagner; now he was carried away by the fervor with which the Viennese accepted the idea of independence, by that characteristically Viennese gift for surrendering unreservedly to a new ideal without taking thought of past traditions unfavorable or directly opposed to it. "Revisited on a beautiful bright Sunday," he writes to his wife, Minna, "Vienna has quite charmed me, I admit."

Thirteen years were to pass before Wagner's destiny led him to Vienna for the third time. In the meanwhile the battle for and against his music had already begun there. Appropriately enough, it was that other "demon of Viennese musical spirit," the younger Johann Strauss, who had prepared the road for Wagner's works with his popular programs. In 1853, at one of the Waltz King's popular concerts, the introduction to the third act of *Lohengrin* and the "Pilgrims' Chorus" from *Tannhäuser* were heard in Vienna for the first time; during the next year the *Tannhäuser* and *Rienzi* Overtures followed under the same auspices. These performances by a "dance orchestra" ought not to be underrated: Johann Strauss's programs were by no means confined to light music, and his orchestra was quite capable of doing justice to serious compositions. In those days, moreover, there was in Vienna no other means of introducing orchestral works to the large audience. Then, as the result of the performance of an entire opera in the suburbs, Wagner's work invaded the city. During the summer months the Theater in der Josefstadt, the third opera-house in Old-

Vienna, was giving performances in a spacious wooden building, the "Thaliatheater," situated in Lerchenfeld at some distance from the city. Farces and spectacular revues constituted the regular repertory of this suburban stage; Johann Hoffmann, the director, had been a tenor with the Riga opera-company during Wagner's connection with it. It was this Hoffmann who conceived the idea of putting on Wagner's *Tannhäuser* at the summer theatre. For obvious reasons, Wagner would have preferred to have had his work given at the first theatre, and Hoffmann's negotiations with him were somewhat involved. Financial considerations and the problem of distributing the rôles proved troublesome. At length, however, even these difficulties were amicably arranged, and on August 28, 1857, *Tannhäuser* had its first hearing in Vienna.

Despite the inadequacy of the soloists at Hoffmann's disposal, the opera was so successful that ten performances could be given during the summer season alone. The following winter, at the Theater in der Josefstadt, there were twenty-seven more. The critics, to be sure, were at pains to emphasize the imperfections of the performance at every opportunity. That the Viennese public consciously or unconsciously recognized the novel, magnificent, overpowering side of the work and surrendered whole-heartedly to Wagner's art speaks well for its sound musical judgment. Yet the lasting importance of Hoffmann's bold deed lies less in the performance itself than in its having cleared the way to the Court Opera for "the art-work of the future." Concern for its reputation was alone enough to prevent the leading opera-house of the residence from longer closing its doors to Wagner's music, and on August 19, 1858, *Lohengrin* opened the new season at the Kärntner-Tor theatre. If with the best of intentions Hoffmann's means had been insufficient to guarantee an entirely adequate performance, the resources of the Imperial Opera left nothing to be desired. Its orchestra and singers ranked with the best, and the management was so anxious to present the work in accordance with Wagner's views and intentions that Esser, the conductor, was sent to Zurich before the preliminary rehearsals began in order to receive exact instructions from the composer himself. The success of the performance surpassed every expectation. The following season brought *Tannhäuser*, on November 19, 1859; a year later, on December 2, 1860, *The Flying Dutchman* was added to the repertory.

In the meantime Wagner had completed his *Tristan*, and the Grand Duke of Baden was planning a model performance of the work in Karlsruhe. The necessary artists were to be borrowed

from Vienna; and on May 9, 1861, the composer arrived to make his selections. Once more before the beginning of his Vienna difficulties Wagner was to spend a joyous, untroubled holiday in the city on the Danube. Fourteen years had passed since *Lohengrin* was finished, eleven since Liszt had christened the work in Weimar, yet until now its author had been given no opportunity to hear his score. One can imagine, then, with what impatience Wagner set out for the dress rehearsal preceding the special performance of *Lohengrin* that was to be given in his honor. His first impression of his own music was overpowering. "I sat quietly the whole time," he writes, "but one tear after another ran down my cheeks." On May 15 the performance took place, and Wagner learned with what grateful affection the Viennese regarded him. Not only was he called out on the stage repeatedly at the end of each act, but after the prelude and other single numbers of the score the audience forced him again and again to acknowledge, from his box, their demonstrations of enthusiasm. "The most affecting thing of all," Wagner goes on, "was the unbelievable accord of the whole audience; a shout of joy, as from a thousand trombones, so prolonged that I was utterly unable to comprehend it, made me fear that everything would burst." Three days later he attended a performance of *The Flying Dutchman*, and on this occasion too the presentation and reception of his work left a profound impression. The most highly prized memento of his visit, however, was the assurance he took with him that *Tristan and Isolde* would have its first performance in Vienna on October 1. After two weeks in the city Wagner made his departure, promising to return in a few months to assist in the preparation of his newest opera.

The turning point in Wagner's fight for his ideas seemed near at hand, and cheerful confidence took possession of him. Not only did he regard the Vienna Opera as one of the leading institutions (if not the leading institution) of its kind in all Germany; he speaks of "a heavenly opera-house—a galaxy of magnificent voices, one more beautiful than another—a ravishing chorus and orchestra!" And now *Tristan*, the child of his sorrow, was to be performed, not in provincial Karlsruhe, but at this first of all opera-houses, almost without regard for expense, and with a cast impossible to duplicate elsewhere. Why Wagner had already returned to Vienna on August 14 will be readily understood.

There is a vast difference, however, between a promise and its realization. Wagner's hopes rose and fell alternately, and the months and years that followed were haunted by the doubt whether

the performance would ever take place. The tenor who was to have sung Tristan (Ander) was already beginning to show signs of the insanity that overtook him later; despite Wagner's endless trouble and patience with him, he proved incapable of mastering the part, yet he obstinately refused to give it up, putting the composer off from one date to another. Each fresh postponement of the première was another blow to Wagner's hopes, and after four months of contending against heavy odds he left Vienna to return a year later, still confident that his presence could make the performance of *Tristan* possible.

Vienna now became Wagner's home, and for almost a year and a half he left it only for occasional concert tours that proved disappointing financially, for all their unprecedented artistic success. The eternally restless master appeared almost to have succumbed to the fate of those no longer able to escape the spell of the city. But the undercurrent of all those Vienna years was concern for *Tristan*—their end disappointment and the abandoning of all hope of a performance there. The catastrophe itself was perhaps less devastating than the years of uncertainty and the vain hope that those charged with the production were responsible for awakening and encouraging over and over again.

Wagner's letters from this period accurately reflect their writer's personality, so extremely subject to the mood of the moment. Life in Vienna and the society of his Viennese friends unquestionably made a strong appeal to the composer whose personal needs were so exacting. Friendly self-sacrifice, appreciation of his art and personality, respect for his achievements—all these things Wagner found there in great abundance. The adherents and friends who grouped themselves about him succeeded time after time in making amends for the disagreeable experiences he was obliged to undergo. The young people of Vienna especially, always progressively inclined, were tireless in giving him proof of their affection and support. And though Wagner's years in Vienna were in some respects years of suffering, the unusually close connection between his life and its expression in his music prevents our regarding it as a coincidence that, of all his works, it was a light-hearted one, *The Mastersingers*, that took shape, as it were, in Vienna and cannot be dissociated from his residence there.

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The Mastersingers is the artistic harvest of those years, as Max Morold shrewdly observes in his admirable study of the

relations of Wagner to Vienna, *Wagners Kampf und Sieg*. And that harvest was not a meagre one. No doubt that the work represents Wagner's reaction after his *Tristan*-experience with Mathilde Wesendonk; no doubt that the composition of *The Mastersingers* began with Wagner's triumph over that experience. From his comfortable establishment in Penzing, a former suburb of Vienna, near Schönbrunn, Wagner writes to Mathilde of "wonderful old times," reminding her as late as June 1863 that he is "really more faithful than she perhaps believes." It should not be too much to say that Wagner's residence in Vienna was an essential factor in the creation of *The Mastersingers*. The special qualities that characterize the Viennese populace and also affect the higher social levels of the city must have contributed much toward giving him strength for his new, life-affirming work. To be sure, the pure comedy of the first sketch, dating from a much earlier period, has undergone a drastic transformation in the light of his deepened experience. The figure of Hans Sachs has taken on an entirely new aspect. The tragic element, the recognition of human folly, the personal renunciation—these are the fruits of the intervening years. What Wagner calls "the power of humor in its richest, most direct manifestation" may well be due in large part to his life in Vienna.

Not for a long time is any remark likely to give a more false impression of the Viennese atmosphere than Schiller's familiar phrase about the city of the Phæacians. Centuries of contact with Italy have given the Viennese a fair share of that southern liveliness which, when combined with German depth and Slavic melancholy, yields a blend of irrepressible vitality and spiritual wealth peculiar to Vienna. That this blend holds a special attraction for the North German was shown in Wagner's life-time by his pseudo-antagonist, Johannes Brahms. Is it surprising, then, that returning from the abstractions of *Tristan* to the joyous realities and warm, life-like humor of *The Mastersingers* Wagner should have found strength for a new life in these surroundings?

Artistic successes brought further encouragement. The three concerts Wagner gave at the Theater an der Wien early in 1862, when excerpts from the *Ring* were publicly performed for the first time, materially enhanced his local reputation. Once again there was marked difference of opinion between the press and the musical part of the public, a state of affairs peculiarly Viennese. A number of critics, supposedly influential writers—with Hanslick, the author of *Vom musikalisch Schönen*, at their head—declared open war on Wagner. Perhaps it would be going too far to attribute

this movement to malice and lack of sympathy alone. It is only a step from respect for tradition, inevitable in a city with as rich a musical past as Vienna's, to a position so conservative that it appears unenlightened to later generations. In the case of Wagner, however, the brutal, unprincipled methods of the opposition admit of no excuse.

Music in Vienna is by no means the concern of a little group of connoisseurs, for the Viennese are naturally so receptive to this art that all classes of society share in the city's musical life. Immediately after the performance of *Tannhäuser* at the Thalia-theater, for example, the opera was parodied by the well-known Viennese satirist Johann Nestroy; without an acquaintance with Wagner's work, the middle-class audience to which this skit was addressed would have missed its point completely. Those whose response to music was natural and spontaneous followed and believed in Wagner; the certain knowledge of their support and affection must have been a source of great comfort to him.

In the end, financial distress drove Wagner from Vienna. What the city had meant to him despite his reverses there this quotation from a letter of his reveals: "One thing is certain. I should have remained in Vienna, and the first act of *The Mastersingers* would now be finished!" A different fate was in store for him. From this time on he visited Vienna only to conduct an occasional concert or to superintend the production of an opera, as in 1875, for instance, when he came to prepare *Lohengrin* and the new version of *Tannhäuser* after *The Mastersingers* had been added to the local repertory in 1870. Perhaps the most beautiful tribute to the brilliance of the performances under Wagner's direction in 1875 is the following, quoted from the young Hugo Wolf's enthusiastic reports to his parents:

On Monday, November 22, I was initiated into his wonderful music at last. It was *Tannhäuser*. . . I find no words for it . . . and will only tell you that I am an idiot. . . The music of this great master has taken me right out of myself, and I have become a Wagnerian. . . *Lohengrin* was magnificent under Wagner's direction. Never before has an opera delighted me as much as *Lohengrin*; I consider it the finest opera there is.

These two performances were the occasion of Wagner's last stay in Vienna. His long fight for recognition in the great musical center of Southern Germany had been decided—at last. From its beginnings in the activities of the Vienna Wagner-Verein, an organization working unremittingly for the composer, the cult of Wagner in Vienna grew to tremendous proportions and has left a permanent impress on Viennese musical life. In 1877 *The Valkyrie*

had its first performance in Vienna; *The Rhinegold* and *Siegfried* followed a year later. Then, in 1879, came the production of the whole tetralogy at the Court Opera. And in October 1883, nine months after Wagner's death, the management offered the last of his works authorized for performance outside of Bayreuth—*Tristan and Isolda*, the opera that had cost him two years of struggle and anxiety in Vienna twenty-two years before.

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Though during the last years of his life Wagner did not come to Vienna again, he remained in close touch with the Viennese friends and partisans who had made the city "the real hearth of true Wagnerian enthusiasm." If earlier generations in Vienna had misunderstood, envied, and hated Wagner, later generations made amends for them. Thanks to the activities of his trusty Eckhardt, Hans Richter, there is scarcely another city that can boast a more deeply-rooted Wagner tradition. Not until late did Wagner discover one of the finest traits of the Viennese—fidelity. His siege of Vienna brought him at the time only bitterness and humiliation; once conquered, the city became a stronghold for his art and has since remained so. Even today repetitions of the *Ring* are regarded as red-letter days in Vienna's musical life, and just as there will always be holiday performances of *The Mastersingers* in Vienna, so every hearing of *Tristan and Isolda* in the Austrian capital will always be a solemn hour of contemplative penetration into the mysteries of that ultimate source of all art—Love, "highest bliss and deepest sorrow," the "leading motive" that pervades Wagner's life and work from first to last.

(Translated by W. Oliver Strunk)

HOW WAGNER WORKED

A GLANCE INTO THE MASTER'S WORKSHOP

By EDGAR ISTELE

TO our mind, a peep into the workshop of a great artist possesses a peculiar charm. As the hasty pencil-sketches of the painter disclose *in nuce* many a problem of a brilliant painting, the musician's sketches fascinate us by their revelation of difficulties unsuspected by the layman and puzzling even to the initiated. Midway between Beethoven's way of working (most apparent in an impassioned striving after finality on the music-sheet) and Mozart's (which could offer a well-nigh mechanical script, because his unexampled memory permitted him to retain the most complicated schemes in mind), stands Wagner's creative plan, concerning which so little is known that even his biographer Glasenapp was led to misrepresent the way in which *Das Rheingold* was composed.

Let us first examine the external conditions that impelled Wagner in his creative work. He once wrote: "I indulge my little weaknesses, enjoy a comfortable dwelling, am fond of carpets and pretty furniture, and dress for work at home in silk and satin." He was keenly sensitive to external noises, more especially the noises of traffic. For this reason, too, he liked Venice, where, after working all the forenoon and afternoon till 4 or 5 o'clock, he could glide through the canals in a gondola. Then he would still work a while, and pass the evening in stimulating converse over his tea. An indispensable companion of his working hours was the grand piano, on which he was wont to try out his conceptions. Like all sensitive persons, he was strongly influenced by changes of weather: "When the air is clear and fresh I am ready for anything, just as when I am with one who loves me; but when the atmosphere oppresses me I feel cross and contrary, and things beautiful are hard to realize," he writes to Mathilde Wesendonk while working on *Tristan*. Much writing also worried him for a long time and made him ill, so that he lost all zest for real creative work. Not until Mathilde had given him an American gold pen did he again become "a calligraphic pedant."

Wagner, to begin with, worked dramaturgically. Any subject that presented itself to his mind from some source of the past, became for him the symbol of a definite aim in life; and this subject then gradually assumed the traits suggested by his creative fancy.

The visible result of this process would be a preliminary sketch in writing, which often took the form of a scenario. The principal characters, the division into acts, the course of the several scenes, were here sketched in brief detail. Besides these, there were special excerpts, the fruit of studies in Germanic culture, useful in the working-out of certain details. Out of this sort of scenic sketch the first written version of the actual versified poem was then evolved. Touching the relation of these concepts to the music, the best explanation is given by Wagner himself in a letter to Gaillard of Jan. 30, 1844:

I really do not pride myself in the least on my mission as a poet, but confess that I undertook to write my own poems only from necessity, because no good texts offered themselves. Now, however, I should find it quite impossible to compose any borrowed libretto, and for the following reason: with me it is no longer the case that I take up any subject that offers, put it into verse, and then consider how I am to write suitable music for it; by adopting this procedure I should find myself confronted with the difficulty of having to evoke my inspiration twice, which is impossible. My way of production is different. First of all, no subject can attract me that does not present itself to me both in its poetic and its musical significance. Before I begin to write down a verse, I am already intoxicated by the musical aroma of my creation, I have all the tones, all the characteristic motives, in my head, so that as soon as the verses are finished and the scenes arranged, the opera itself is, for me, a complete whole, and the treatment of details is left for a quiet and reflective finishing job following the phase of true creative conception.

This was probably so down to and including *Lohengrin*, whereof chance has preserved for us the first frantically mixed pen-sketches of single musical themes and motives. Out of these mostly unilinear, purely melodic, disconnected preliminary jottings, which served merely to aid the memory, the first sketches for the composition would now be evolved, generally in the form of a piano-arrangement with the vocal parts, mostly without scenic directions. Actually, however, these are not piano-arrangements; the orchestral parts are simply compressed on two staves without consideration for their playability on the piano, and in such shape that with occasional instrumental indications the leading lines of the orchestration may be recognized.

This applies to the less complicated works written before the period of exile in Zürich. It was during the composition of *Das Rheingold* that it first became necessary to introduce an intermediate process, which Wagner himself termed an "instrumentation-sketch." Only after finishing this sketch did he proceed to write out the score.

The sketches for *Das Rheingold*, written in pencil and provided with purely personal notes concerning his frame of mind, are in the hands of the Wesendonk family, who have hitherto refused access to them. However, I have been able to make a careful study of the instrumentation-sketches to the same work, presented by Wagner in 1858 to Klindworth, after whose death they were placed on the autograph market.¹

Work on the composition of *Das Rheingold* required more than a year. "Whether it be a dæmon or a deity that oft controls us in hours of supreme decision—enough! Stretched out sleepless in a tavern at La Spezia, there came to me the inspiration for my music to *Rheingold*." Thereupon composition proceeded rapidly, to end on January 16, 1854. Early in February he began the instrumentation-sketch, signed at the end "R. W. 28. Mai 1854." The "dainty" clean copy, begun on February 15, 1854, and filling 294 pages of score, was finished on Sept. 26th of the same year.

Concerning the way in which Wagner worked on *Das Rheingold*, Glasenapp makes the following—in part incorrect—observations:

While composing he often walked to and fro in the room, sometimes going over to the piano in the next room to strike single chords or play certain phrases; then jotting down the result at the standing-desk. The first Particelle [?] that he sketched consisted of only a few staves, whereon he set down only the melody and the succession of the chords, together with notes on the main lines of the instrumentation, usually sketched in pencil. Not until this Partitur [?] was finished did he proceed to the working-out, to the details of instrumentation, which he set down without any correction whatever [?] with incomparable care and neatness. A mistake in writing, or a blot of ink, sufficed for the rejection of the sheet in hand. Just now, to be sure, he was a long way from so clean a copy. First of all came the preliminary summary pencil-sketches of the composition [?] on separate loose sheets; his always deliberate calligraphy would have been a hindrance to the urgent inspiration.

As anyone familiar with the subject will see, Glasenapp promiscuously shuffles the various stages of the work. The correct order, which I shall therefore give here, runs as follows:

1. The very first jotting-down of motives.
2. The composition-sketch.
3. The instrumentation-sketch ("Particella") with corrections on loose sheets, written for the most part in pencil.
4. The clean copy of the score, free from corrections.

¹Now in the possession of an American collector of autographs.—Ed.

On Feb. 7, 1854, Wagner wrote to Liszt:

At present I am writing out *Rheingold* directly in score, with the instrumentation; I could not find any way of making an intelligible sketch of the Vorspiel (in the depths of the Rhine) on paper, and so I started with the full score. But it will take me all the longer to finish; besides, my brain is a trifle dazed.

And in his autobiography, "Mein Leben," we read:

With regard to the technic of my work, I was all at once at a loss how to write out that orchestral overture, conceived at Spezia in a waking dream, in my wonted manner of sketching on two lines. I had to start forthwith with the complete formula for the score; thereby I was led to take up a new manner of sketching, according to which I set down only the very hastiest pencilled outlines for the immediate working-out of the full score. This procedure afterwards exposed me to serious difficulties, for the slightest interruption of my work often made me forget the purport of my hasty sketches, and then I found great difficulty in recalling it. But in the case of *Rheingold* I gave these difficulties no chance to arise.

The first written copy of the Vorspiel to *Das Rheingold*, on quarto sheets and in calligraphic script in ink, embodies the first of the "instrumentation-sketches." That Wagner's brain was really "a trifle dazed" is evidenced by a singular mistake: the entrance of the third horn (page 2 of the printed small score) was inserted a measure too late, an error Wagner subsequently corrected in pencil. Vexed by such happenings—he would destroy the whole sheet, for he never made erasures!—the premature writing-out of the clean copy may have become distasteful to him. With Flosshilde's song "Heiala weia! Wildes Geschwister!" the score stops short, though on the following empty sheets the measures that were to follow are already marked out. Wagner now, regardless of neatness in writing, turned to first jotting down the instrumentation rapidly as a pencil-sketch. For this procedure (until near the close, where quarto sheets became necessary) he employed the convenient oblong folio. The pagination of the separate sheets was effected by marking them alternately with the odd and even numbers.

To Liszt Wagner wrote on March the 4th, 1854:

I am working hard. Can't you tell me of some one who would be capable of fashioning my rough pencil-sketches into a clean score? This time I am working quite differently from before. But this clean-copying uses me up! I lose time over it that I could employ to better advantage. Besides, all this writing exhausts me so, that it makes me sick and spoils my disposition for real creation. *Without* some such skilful helper I am lost: *with* him I should be through with it all in two years.

Liszt was unhappily unable to fulfill Wagner's wish. Not until later years did the master find, in Hans Richter and the so-called *Nibelungenkanzlisten* (*Nibelung* prothonotaries) Seidl, Zumpe, and Fischer, the requisite assistants. One must consider that for musicians who were not superlatively qualified it would have been no easy matter to penetrate the arcana of the *Nibelung* orchestration. It was very difficult to construct out of Wagner's sketches (they were plainly written out, but often strangely grouped) the score that to-day seems to us such a matter of course, now that we know it note by note. Wagner himself held his sheets to be "illegible." Still, the "all-comprehensive eye" of Klindworth succeeded in finding a way through the maze and constructing a piano-arrangement therefrom.

On May 2, 1854, Wagner writes still in desperation to Liszt:

It looks after all as if I should have to make the clean copy of my scores myself; it is altogether too difficult to do them as I want them, especially as the sketches are often in awful confusion, so that I alone can make them out. But it takes so much longer!

But in an undated letter written in June of the same year he says:

Don't look up an amanuensis for me. . . . The scores are going to be my most finished masterpiece in calligraphy! One cannot escape one's fate! Meyerbeer formerly admired nothing more in my scores than the neat script. This avowal of admiration has become my undoing—I *must* write clean scores as long as I live on earth!

Something of the Saxon schoolteacher must still have run in the great master's veins. His handsomest original manuscript is that of the composition now called the "Huldigungsmarsch," which was dedicated by Wagner to his royal benefactor with the following title:

Zum neunzehnten Geburtstag
Seiner Majestät des Königs
Ludwig II
von
Richard Wagner

This score, written for military orchestra and filling thirty-two pages bound in blue velvet, presents a most perfect specimen of Wagner's writing. Without an erasure, on superb French music-paper, his penmanship is hardly surpassed in perfection by engraved music.

In later years Wagner had a great deal of his writing done by others, as is shown by sundry manuscripts now in the possession of the Bavarian state. Of *Siegfried* the King possessed only the orchestral sketch to Act III, comprising sixty pages cleanly penned on a double pair of staves. Of *Götterdämmerung* I found the complete orchestra-sketch in three volumes. Strangely enough, the penmanship of this sketch is not that of Wagner himself; only some few additions are in his hand. Hans Richter, when a young man, prepared this manuscript, as a cryptic annotation in Greek letters between the staves reveals. The second act, bound in red silk, is peculiarly noteworthy from the circumstance that Wagner with his own hand wrote the first three pages down to Hagen's words "nicht doch mag ich ihr," whereupon follows Richter's writing, only occasionally supplemented by sundry superscriptions in Wagner's hand. The third act, which is bound in yellow silk, presents various handwritings. Probably several members of the *Nibelungenkanzlei* worked upon it in turn. Only the dedication-page was penned by Wagner, which celebrates the "eternal work" as "achieved" with Wotan's lofty words from Rheingold:

ZUR WIDMUNG

Vollendet das ewige Werk!
 Wie im Traum ich es trug,
 Wie mein Wille es wies,
 Was bange Jahre barg
 Des reifenden Mannes Brust,
 Aus winternächtigen Wehen
 Der Lieb' und des Lenzes Gewalten
 Trieben dem Tag es zu!
 Dort steh' es stolz zur Schau,
 Als kühner Königsbau
 Prang' es prächtig der Welt!

Zum 25. August 1871.

RICHARD WAGNER.

Wagner was no more capable than any other creative genius of bringing forth works of art in uninterrupted succession. With him, too, years of highest productivity alternated with wholly unfruitful periods. But, as Scipio Africanus said of himself, he was never busier than when he seemed to be idle. "By slothfulness, i.e., by using up my library without producing anything," Wagner sought "by main force" to stimulate his mood afresh for the energy required "if a dramatic work is to possess concentrated significance and originality. But a higher plane of life is not reached every half-year; it takes years to accumulate an intensive maturity." To him the power of musical creation appeared

"like a bell, which—the ampler its girth—emits its full tone only when it is brought into full oscillation by the right power; this power is derived from within, and where it is not immanent, it is not present at all. Such purely subjective power, however, does not come into play until energized by some related, and yet dissimilar, force from outside." So he would read every morning, for example, before he went to work, some canto from Dante: "I am still sticking deep down in hell; its horrors companion me during my work on the *Walküre*. Fricka has just gone off, and Wotan is about to launch his agonized outburst."

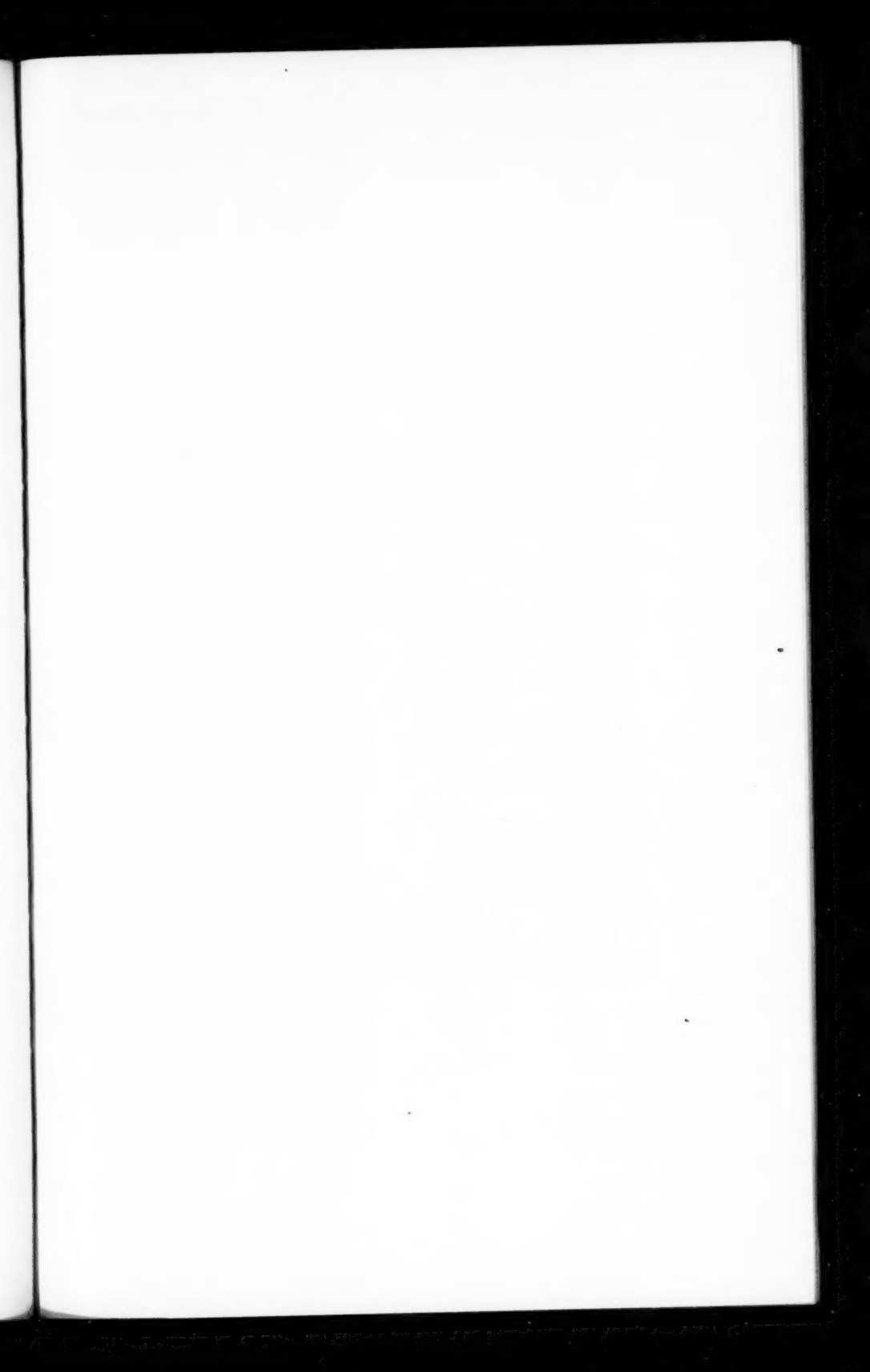
Regarding his first period, he openly admitted that not everything had been grown on his own soil, that he owed a great deal to his predecessors: "I can still remember asking myself with secret incertitude about my thirtieth year [he refers to the time down to *Tannhäuser*, but the foreign influences extend yet further] whether I really possessed the makings of a superior artistic individuality; in my works I could always find traces of influence and imitation, and my hopes of developing into a thoroughly original creative artist were always chilled by doubt." This he was very unwilling to admit in later years. Only once did he remark to Hans von Bülow, after finishing *Tristan*, that since he had gained familiarity with Liszt's compositions he had "become a very different fellow as a harmonist" from what he was before.

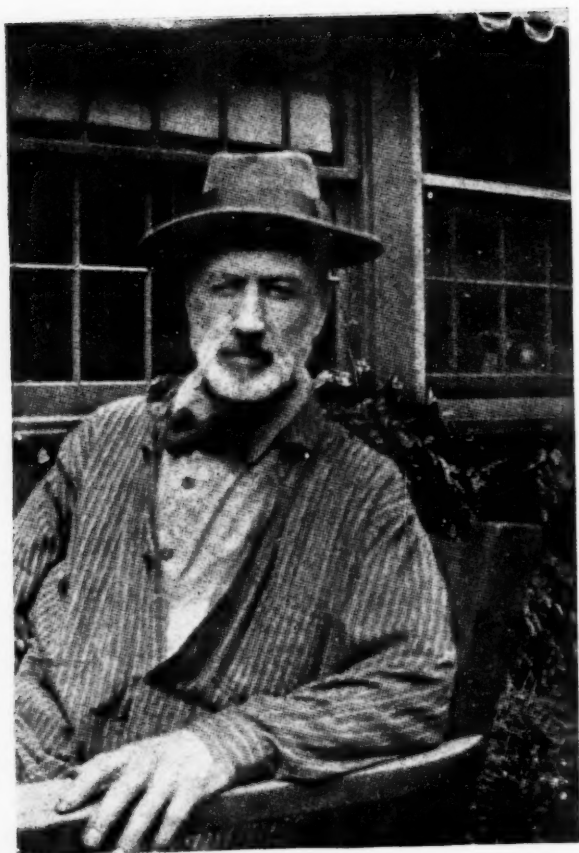
When Wagner was in a creative mood he worked at an incredibly rapid pace. For example, he finished *Der fliegende Holländer*, all but the instrumentation, in seven weeks. And in April, 1859, he wrote to his first wife, Minna:

Next November it will be six years since I again began to compose. In these six years I have written four, yes, four grand operas [Siegfried, to be sure, was only half finished], any one of which would suffice, in point of significance, depth and novelty to represent the work of six years. Those who hear these works some time will be astounded when told that these four were written in six years!

"I am wholly myself only when I am creating," Wagner wrote to Otto Wesendonk. What was his state of mind while creating is shown by a letter to Roeckel, wherein he states his normal mood to be one of "exaltation . . . whereas ordinary repose is an abnormal condition." He felt well only when he was "beside himself"; "then I am wholly myself." But this already trenches on the deeper mysteries of creative work, and the rest is silence. . . .

(Translated by Theodore Baker)





Charles E. Ives

CHARLES IVES: THE MAN AND HIS MUSIC

By HENRY BELLAMANN

I HAVE known Charles E. Ives intimately for more than fifteen years and have had closest acquaintance with all of the music he has written. I have traced its development from simple beginnings, through all phases, to unprecedented complexity. The composer has played all of his major scores, piano sonatas and the other music, for me many times so that I think I may be credited with speaking from some degree of knowledge not only of the details of the music, but of the personality of the man, his aims and his æsthetics.

I began publishing reviews and analyses of this music many years ago when it was extremely difficult to obtain respectful attention for so strange a product. It seems now to be the moment to speak of it again since so much more of it is accessible, and since a number of recent performances have aroused much interest and have brought forth expressions of outright praise, not only from discerning Americans but from important European critics.

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Charles E. Ives was born in Danbury, Connecticut, in 1874. He comes of a New England family of old and honorable traditions. His father was a music-teacher and bandmaster. When Charles Ives was a small boy, the senior Ives was already an intrepid experimenter in fields that are generally thought of even now as new. He delved into the questions of tone divisions, quarter-tone possibilities, association of keys, matters similar to those now called polytonality, atonality, and innumerable acoustical experiments. He frequently disposed sections of his band on different balconies of a building in order to test aspects of sound on different planes and at different distances. He experimented with various chords, some built of fourths and fifths, and awakened in his son an unquenchable curiosity concerning the illimitable possibilities of new instrumental and harmonic combinations. Charles Ives was already a sound musician, trained in harmony, counterpoint and fugue when he entered Yale and took up study with Horatio Parker. Four years at Yale—and a decision had to be made: music as a profession, or business. He chose business, and not the least important reason was that the exigencies of

music, practised professionally, should not hamper him in writing as he chose. It is not difficult to imagine what reception his scores would have had at that time from publishers—scores that were already as daring and revolutionary as those written later by more widely known composers. In fact, the rhythmical complexity and variety even then greatly surpassed anything that has been done up to now. (See the published score of the second movement of the Fourth Symphony.)

Mr. Ives' business success was founded on the same sort of daring experiment, together with an interest and confidence in human nature, that characterizes his music. I am told by a reliable authority that the principles of this business were often radical and daring, but that they were based really on the fundamentals of hard-headed common sense. The business of the firm of which he was the senior member sprang from very small beginnings. But the nature of the business was such that it brought him in close relation with thousands of men of all kinds and conditions. This association of over thirty years, with its opportunity of knowing and working with so many men, did what it apparently does not to some men—it gave him a high respect for, a deep interest and confidence in the average man's mind and character. This confidence was one of the things which were put into the building of their business and seemed too visionary and idealistic to many, especially to the older men in the business. The young men were assured that this, among some of their other plans, would cause their failure within a year. There were many discouraging and trying years; but some of the plans that seemed the most visionary and idealistic were the ones that worked out the best. When Mr. Ives gave up active participation on account of ill-health in 1930, the firm of Ives and Myrick had grown to be the largest of its kind in the country; an insurance editor, referring to the firm's achievement, points out that, as the business grew, the firm retained the respect and good-will of its competitors.

This business history is mentioned because it has a direct bearing on what shall presently be said about music. Mr. Ives is no wild-eyed revolutionary inhabiting the regions of Bohemia. He is a normal citizen and has for more than a quarter of a century pursued his own way, going to business in the down-town New York district where many of his associates did not know of his interest in music, and all the time accumulating an imposing heap of scores, some of which anticipated the means and methods of the most advanced of the contemporary music—anticipating it by twenty years in some cases.

Even while Ives was a student at Yale the little Hyperian orchestra played successfully a score in which simultaneous rhythms and keys were suggested. And the audience, unsuspecting of what was happening, liked some of it. Mr. Ives' years at Yale under Horatio Parker were not as unhappy as some notices have suggested. He entertains a hearty respect for his teacher; and though his occasional tonal adventures did not meet with approval, the young composer followed the wishes of his teacher and laid the foundations of a compositional technique that was complete in all details. The "correct" compositions of this period bear ample witness to this.

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One enters upon any discussion of the man with trepidation. Mr. Ives is excessively retiring. Few people know him outside of business. It is difficult to bring him to attend concerts even when his own music is being performed. He is a thorough-going New Englander with a deep love of the country and his close friends. One of his remote ancestors, towards the end of the eighteenth century, sold his farm in what is now the region of Beekman Street and East River because "New York was becoming too fancy and too crowded." There is much of this ancestor in Charles Ives.

This discussion of the composer's business career is purposed. It seems to show that a creative career may be carried on simultaneously with business—the two supplementing and complementing each other. (Witness the case of John Alden Carpenter.)

It is not easy to interview Charles Ives. But when finally cornered on the question of his parallel system of life he said: "My business experience revealed life to me in many aspects that I might otherwise have missed. In it one sees tragedy, nobility, meanness, high aims, low aims, brave hopes, faint hopes, great ideals, no ideals, and one is able to watch these work inevitable destiny. And it has seemed to me that the finer sides of these traits were not only in the majority but in the ascendancy. I have seen men fight honorably and to a finish, solely for a matter of conviction or of principle—and where expediency, probable loss of business, prestige, or position had no part and threats no effect. It is my impression that there is more open-mindedness and willingness to examine carefully the premises underlying a new or unfamiliar thing, before condemning it, in the world of business than in the world of music. It is not even uncommon in business inter-

course to sense a reflection of a philosophy—a depth of something fine—akin to a strong beauty in art. To assume that business is a material process, and only that, is to undervalue the average mind and heart. To an insurance man there *is* an ‘average man’ and he is humanity. I have experienced a great fullness of life in business. The fabric of existence weaves itself whole. You can not set an art off in the corner and hope for it to have vitality, reality and substance. There can be nothing ‘exclusive’ about a substantial art. It comes directly out of the heart of experience of life and thinking about life and living life. My work in music helped my business and my work in business helped my music.”

These views should encourage the young artist who considers “giving up music to go into business.” In some cases Mr. Ives believes this to be a mistake or at least unnecessary, though he feels it to be a matter which each man must decide for himself. By being independent of the claims of expediency (a word which always moves this out-and-out New Englander to picturesque comment) the creative artist may pursue his own route, and if he is patient, await results with confidence.

This is in line with advice Mr. John Erskine recently gave to young writers when he said: “If you wish to write, get a job and don’t depend on your writing for a living.”

It is quite certain that, if Charles Ives had chosen to promote his work on sensational grounds, he would have had the world buzzing about him twenty-five years ago. He chose, rather, to await recognition on quite other grounds. A few of the early works were shown to publishers who shied at their strange idiom and their great difficulty. But for many years the composer has manifested a curious indifference both to publication and performance. One anecdote may illustrate his aversion to all personal exploitation. I urged him to have a photograph taken for use with an article. The explosion was terrifying. For days he went about pointing a derisive finger at me, muttering, “That man collects photographs!”

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The music of Mr. Ives is inextricably entangled with his personality and for this reason it has been necessary to provide a sketch of the man.

How is one to provide an introduction to the music? What of its form, its harmony, its idiom, its content?

Technically, the music is a hard job for those who like to classify. One page might put it as the work of a pure polyphonist, another that of a pure harmonist, and another that of neither or both or something else. As to content, some class him as a mystic, others as a realist. A freedom of action does not lend itself to labels. Ives is no great iconoclast in matter of form. It can hardly be said that he has taken greater liberty with established forms than many less revolutionary predecessors. We find sonatas, fugues, symphonies. His forms, on closer study, seem to derive very directly from content. But the listener will wait in vain to discover salencies of form picked out and labelled with recurrent harmonies, or thematic repetitions. Organically the fundamentals are these: exposition, development, and conclusions—musical conclusions. But it will be observed that sometimes development seems to begin at once after the introduction of the briefest figures, at others the development leads into the theme which, not infrequently, is stated in its entirety only at the end. Harmonically, this composer's earlier work was astonishingly in advance of its time. Many modern harmonic procedures were tried out in his work long ago with effects antedating those of many others. And all of this came about gradually as an examination of early scores clearly shows.

He said: "I found I *could not* go on using the familiar chords only. I *heard* something else." That is to be remembered. These curious harmonies were not sought out on a keyboard. They were first *heard* as appropriate expression of the musical idea. There were many kinds of chords, some built of alternating major and minor thirds, superimposed through a wide range, chords built of fourths and fifths, the constant use of extreme dissonance, widely spread chords, continuous melody, but always and always an idiom, a flavor, that is unmistakably individual. Schloezer in *Les Beaux-Arts* (Brussels) says: "Ives has something to say. He says it in his own way without looking around to see what others are doing." It is not possible for anyone with any kind of ear to mistake a passage of Ives' music for the writing of anyone else.

The result of his meticulous avoidance of literal return is a prose-like structure and texture. Sometimes this texture is so close-knit that it has something of the crabbedness of the prose of Jonathan Edwards, or Cotton Mather, as Mr. Gilman has said. It is just here that the personality and mentality of the composer most reveal themselves. I have said elsewhere that it would be unlikely that Mr. Ives would agree that his music is allied to Puritanism, but it is. It is a transcendental expression of those

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qualities of selection and rejection that make the Puritan character. There is something granitic about this music—a little as though it were hewn out of the stubborn stone of the Connecticut hills. It is tinged with a constant reference to local color: village-band tunes, salty and pithy bits of popular ditties, pungent fragments of forgotten ragtime (so much more salient than later jazz), and curious dark broodings on the hymn-tunes which entered so intimately into the thinking and feeling of Mr. Ives' forbears. So many of these old tunes were almost conversational pieces of exchange and as such must be considered for their reference value and power to evoke emotional context. But underneath all this composite subject-matter and technique there is felt a human side—an interest in and a sympathy for man and his life experience. A well-known musician who has been critical of Ives' music, which he feels has gone too far in advance of where music should go, admits that his work does not share the weakness of so many moderns, for behind all of it there are strong human feelings—big, not little ones.

In melodic line and harmonic flavor we see one of this composer's primary characteristics most clearly illustrated. There is an almost fanatic avoidance of anything in curve or surface of sensuous import. Strong emotional cargo there is, but never the slightest concession to easy listening. One must understand how this music is posited and meet it on its own ground—a truism, after all, for any kind of art. It is posited simply enough as a musical equivalent of the spiritual values of transcendental philosophy and human experience; and sometimes it is an amazingly picturesque setting forth of the flavors and colors of New England life and history, couched in the tense idiom of a bleak New England thinking. Whether one accepts this or not as possible musical and workable aesthetics, there it is: the aesthetics of Charles Ives.

That was an illuminating phrase, "The fabric of life weaves itself whole." Hence the absence of preciousness, and the strange inclusions in the song-texts. Among the latter, poems from all the world, excerpts from Euripides, Plato, a fragmentary comment on Ann Street, and Vachel Lindsay's "General William Booth Enters Into Heaven." Many diverse phases of life are there. Mr. Ives would not exclude any phase of life that happened to seize upon his attention. He even takes a "crack" at politics. There is a unison-chorus song which is an invective against "the old ladies (male and female)" who wouldn't stand by Woodrow Wilson and his League of Nations. And there is a foot-note

referring to a suggested Federal Amendment which Mr. Ives drafted, purposing to put some of the governmental processes more directly into the hands of the people. It is doubtful if these things are good taste in a song-album—but they are there and they are probably the last things he would take out. We need not look for conventional lyric expression although there is such among the songs—they are on the whole, rather, impassioned declarations, furious orations, giant-torsos, or curious chants in which the meanings of the texts are given maximum consideration.

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Vincent d'Indy once said to the writer: "Why don't your American composers inspire themselves from their own landscape, their own legends and history, instead of leaning forever on the German walking-stick?" In this particular Mr. Ives would meet d'Indy's complete approval. Similar feelings to that of d'Indy have been voiced by others. Nicholas Slonimsky, now conductor of the Boston Chamber Orchestra, as a boy in Russia, had read "Uncle Tom's Cabin," "Tales of Hawthorne," Mark Twain and books of other American authors, and before coming here felt that there must be some American music equally indigenous—something growing up from the soil. He felt that there must be something here beside that heard in Europe, jazz and music strongly influenced by the European idioms. Slonimsky's Paris programs reflected an individualism strongly American. So much so that Vuillermoz, the eminent French critic, speaks of these concerts in Paris of American music as an "astonishing revelation." Mr. Lawrence Gilman, commenting on a performance of Ives' Fourth Symphony which Eugene Goossens conducted, wrote: "This music is as indubitably American in impulse and spiritual texture as the prose of Jonathan Edwards; and, like the writing of that true artist and true mystic, it has at times an irresistible veracity and strength, an uncorrupted sincerity." Ives is wholly of the bone and flesh of Colonial America; and he has gone straight to those elements of American life that he knows best and that have entered deeply and intimately into the making of his philosophy and aesthetics. But, and this needs to be remembered, it is rather the thought elements of his background that are the foundations and fabric of his music, although he makes pungent use of pure local color.

The "Concord, Massachusetts" Sonata was one of the first published works. It has four movements called, "Emerson,"

"Hawthorne," "The Alcotts," and "Thoreau." Mr. Ives used a transcendental philosophy as a starting-point for his own musical musing, or a way of thinking, a way of living and dreaming and being. It must not be regarded as a literary musical work. It is not derived music. It is music whose exciting factor is a phase of New England thought and character. This may certainly be as legitimate an inspiration as that of Bach's "St. John."

Some pages of this work excited the derision of certain critics, and these pages are mentioned only because they sometimes get in the way of those who are easily repelled by experiment. There is a page in the "Hawthorne" movement where the composer suggested holding groups of notes with a ruler while others were played. The effect is actually one of delicate weirdness. The composer suggested alternative performance in a note, but one learned commentator wrote that "Mr. Ives played the piano with a club"—a remark that finds ready place with other ineptitudes in the history of musical criticism.

The "Emerson" movement is a close-knit, prose-like structure built on themes illustrative of the Emerson prose and Emerson poetry.

The "Hawthorne" is a scherzo of other-world fantasy. It is straight out of the elfin unreality of certain Hawthorne tales of imagination and stands in close relation to the imaginings of Poe.

The "Alcotts" is a short, homespun piece. The "Thoreau" finale is perhaps the most moving part of the sonata and as profound as the "Emerson" section. The whole work is of formidable difficulty. There have been a few performances of it abroad, and one or two in America. It *can* be played: it is physically possible, although the demands upon the player's perception are excessive.

The book of 114 Songs was published in 1922. As has been said, there are a few of those songs that are conventional lyric expressions—mostly dating from 1895 to 1901. Among these is an exquisite and touching setting of "Songs My Mother Taught Me" that envelopes the familiar text with a gentle nostalgic atmosphere of singular appropriateness. But right in with these are songs of the same period which contain some of the germs and beginnings of the harmonic, rhythmic and general texture that were developed from that time on. In this connection it may be of interest to give a few details:

"A March Song," 1894 (p. 128). Some not strictly consonant chords used in a percussive way, and a shift of main beats to weaker beats—now called "rag."

"The Childrens' Hour"—Longfellow, 1901 (p. 163). Melody in C major with accompaniment blending between A minor and A major, also a chord suggesting later tone clusters, the voice ends on the second of the scale while the piano has a dominant-ninth chord.

"Walking Song," 1902 (p. 149). Dissonant chords, others of a consecutive fourth and fifth with a major third between, a B \flat major seventh chord held over a general G major, cross-rhythm phrasing and an uneven measure in middle of song, throwing the following even measures on the off-beats.

A little song, "Dost Thou," 1894 (p. 210), ends on the dominant-seventh. "A Song to Rossetti," 1900, ends on the chord of the ninth.

"Tarrant Moss," 1902 (p. 160). A rough song, some chords of bare fifths, ending in the keys of C major and F \sharp major together.

"Harpalus," 1902 (p. 161). Chords of the fourth in treble, fifth in bass, off-rhythms with voice ending on sixth of scale and piano with a chord of the fourth on the third.

"Rough Wind"—Shelley, 1898 (p. 155). Taken from a theme in an early symphony, a melody going through a half dozen different keys in a dozen measures and ending in two keys.

Even the earliest song in the book, dating from 1888 (p. 259), although a very simple one, shows an interest in putting melodies together. "The Dead March in Saul" as a cantus firmus and an original melody starting over it in the treble.

"A Song to German Words," 1899 (p. 190), shows a few vicious dissonances.

"The Old Mother," 1900 (p. 183), contains some elided beats and off-groups of three, beginning on a second beat of a three-four measure.

"The Cage," 1906 (p. 144), is a song taken from a Chamber-Orchestra Set; chords of fourths and fifths throw the melody and whole harmonic scheme into complete atonality, the rhythm changes in each measure, there are no measures consecutively of the same time duration.

"To Moore's 'Evening Bells,'" 1907 (p. 142). Song in E \flat , going through E major and ending in C \sharp major with a sixth. There are two rhythms throughout, 3-4 and 6-8, though that was not so unusual at that time.

A study of other music of that period shows similar trends and tendencies.

It is in the collection of songs that one is again and again apt to part company with the composer. There are highly unvocal

examples, jibes at the sentimental song industry, jibes at some of his own songs of that kind, and occasional pieces intended as caricature and therefore out of place in a collection, if it is to make a wholly artistic impression. Taken as an album of workshop method the wide range is there from experiment to achievement. The volume also suffers somewhat from arrangement.

Leaving aside those songs which suggest exposition of a method or the moods of burlesque, horse-play, etc., and one or two extreme examples that may not be practicable, there remains a large number of songs which wait upon the superior interpreter. Among the less extreme examples may be cited "The White Gulls," a poignant setting of the poem (Maurice Morris) which sustains a remarkable atmosphere and consistency of mood. It is more "grateful" than most of the Ives songs. The following measures illustrate:

mf più animando

Souls of men that turn and wheel

pp

poco cresc.

O - ver wa-ters cold as steel. Souls of men that call and cry

As they know not where to fly. Souls of

pp

franquilly

men that sink to rest On an all re-celv-log breast.

I.A. I.A. I.A.

Three songs to texts of Folgore da San Geminiano, "August," "September," "December," suggest high spots on a song program for a gifted actor-singer of the Ludwig Wüllner type. Following are excerpts from two of them:

September

Presto

Folgore da San Geminiano
from *Rossini's "Early Italian Poets"*

And in September, Fal-cons, as-tors, mer-lins sparrow-hawks, Decoy birds that lure your

Presto or as fast as possible

mp

I.A. I.A.

* use both pedals throughout

game in flocks; and hounds with bells; Cross-bows shooting out of

I.A. I.A.

sight; Ar-blasts and jav-e-lins; All birds the best to fly;

I.A. I.A.

December

Allegro con spirito

Folgora da San Geminiano
from Rossini's "Early Italian Poets"

Last, for December, houses on the plain, ground floors to live in, logs heap'd mountain high, carpets stretch'd

(Roughly and in a half spoken way)

f marcato sempre

and newest games to try, torches lit, and gifts from man to man, Your host— a drunk-ard and a Cata-lan;

There is not space here to speak of the other Symphonies, the Orchestral Sets, the Violin and other Piano Sonatas, the Quarter-Tone Music, etc.

Recent Paris performances of his orchestral works have already had astonished comment, and astonishingly understanding and favorable comment from the foremost French critics. There was immediate recognition of a prodigious gift for orchestration and of unprecedented rhythmical effects and developments. It is safe to say that no American music has ever had so favorable a reception in the French capital.

The Fourth Symphony, now available, was published in part in Henry Cowell's "New Music." A page of this score is appended by way of example:

Allegretto

Piccolo
Flutes
Clarinets in B \flat
Bassoon
Piano
Primo
Secondo
Cornets in C \sharp
Trumpets in C
Trombones
Tuba
Celesta
Triangle
High Bells
Low Bells
Tympani High
Tympani Low
Indian Drum
Snare Drum
Bass Drum
Gong with Cym.
Gong with Cym.
Solo Piano
Violins I
Violins II
Violins III
Viola
Violoncello
Basses

[a] Ref. to about 80 [a] Refers to Conductor's Note - (separate enclosure)

It is in the enormous advance in the use of rhythms that Mr. Ives looms most important. The writer has elsewhere used the phrase "a counterpoint of rhythms." Between the monotonous

reiteration of pounding figures which is so often spoken of as "rhythm" in comment on both classical and modern composers, and the inspired variety and richness of rhythmical development in this symphony there is a vast difference.

Melodic freedom in contemporary composition is absolute. Formal liberty and harmonic license reach something approaching the ultimate. But hitherto rhythmic variety and subtlety have been confined in a surprisingly limited framework where tyranny has been fairly constant.

Here in Ives' "Fourth Symphony" appears that complexity which one observes in a forest of trees moving under the impact of varied winds, but a complexity that does in performance melt into unity. "And then Ives looses his rhythm," wrote Olin Downes in criticizing a performance of the score. "There is no apology about this, but a 'gumption' as a New Englander would say, not derived from some 'Sacre du Printemps,' or from anything but the conviction of a composer who dares to jump with feet and hands and a reckless somersault or two on his way to his destination. There is something in this music; real vitality, real naïveté and a superb self-respect."

One may differ profoundly with the æsthetic premises of this composer, but concerning his sincerity, the loftiness of his aims, the human sympathy, the consummate mastery of technique, and the prodigious musical erudition back of it there can be no question. There is the genuine artist's disdain of easy ways to an end, and there is an agreement between this music as expression and the bone-deep Americanism of the composer that commands attention. It is rooted, whether for good or evil, in the region and the thought of that part of America which may lay claim to be "pure" in a national and a traditional sense.

STRINDBERG AND MUSIC

By EVA MARY GREW

I.

MUSIC moved August Strindberg very deeply; and in accordance with his custom of converting into art whatever affected or appealed to him at the moment, all through his life he expressed himself upon his musical experiences. But he was in some respects that most unhappy of human beings, a man of genius fundamentally abnormal; and he thought, spoke and acted with an overemphasis that often runs near to a perversion of his subject. Therefore his ideas of music are not likely to find a sympathetic echo in the minds and souls of men and women of ordinary constitution. Yet apart from the fact that he was one of the great compelling personalities of the latter half of the nineteenth century, and as such, an individual whose ideas upon any subject are likely to be interesting and valuable, his special concern for music gives a character to what he thought about the art which all musicians and thorough-going students of music would do well to appreciate.

Before one starts to think about him in this connection, one must have a clear notion of the man himself and of his position in the world. He and Ibsen were respectively the great creators of literature in Sweden and Norway during their generation. They form a pair, as Bach and Handel, or Haydn and Mozart form pairs in music. Strindberg despised Ibsen, because while Ibsen was a feminist, a believer in women, Strindberg was an anti-feminist, one who possessed, and was possessed by, a hatred and fear of them. Ibsen did not despise Strindberg. On the contrary, he admired him; and once he pointed to a photograph of him and said, "There is a far greater man than I."

Strindberg regarded himself as a dramatist mainly. He wrote between fifty and sixty plays, and he displayed in them every aspect of his amazingly diverse personality—the musical no less than the rest. But he also wrote poems, novels, historical tales, philosophical and scientific treatises, essays on general subjects, and autobiography. He was a gifted linguist, able to read English and several other literatures in the original. As a student of languages he even mastered Chinese, so that he might catalogue the Chinese manuscripts in the library at Stockholm where, in

his young manhood, he held a position for some years. He was furthermore a botanist, a chemist, a physiologist, and (typical of his nature) an alchemist who (as Frederick Delius, the British composer, tells us) seems really to have thought that he had succeeded in extracting gold from other metals and carbon from sulphur. But as Delius says, the carbon probably fell from the open chimney of the fireplace into the sulphur he was burning; and when Delius arranged for Strindberg to meet a certain physicist in order to discuss the transmutation of earth to gold, Strindberg failed to keep the appointment.

The work Strindberg was engaged upon at the royal library in Stockholm lasted from 1874 (when he was twenty-five) to 1882. Previously to 1874 he had struggled with poverty, misery, often with starvation, first as a student at the university, and then as school teacher, private tutor, actor, and journalist. In his early twenties he was one of a group of poverty-stricken journalists, artists, and musicians who used to meet in a room in a poor Stockholm café; and it was by the book ("The Red Room") in which he described himself, his companions, and the eating-place, that he first won fame and first set the world against him.

Through all this early period of distress and hardship, Strindberg contrived to study music. He mastered the piano, becoming a good pianist. He worked at theoretical subjects, and even added to his vast encyclopedic knowledge of things an understanding of the construction of the organ. (The leading character in one of his novels is a country organist.) Like Robert Browning, he was at once a practical and theoretical musician, something of a musical philosopher, and a lover of the art, whose love increased with the passing years.

II.

Beethoven was the musician he admired most. It almost seems, indeed, that Beethoven was as significant for him as, in other directions and towards the end of his life, Swedenborg was—whom he called his spiritual "judge and master." These two, the German musician and the Swedish religious mystic, were his alleviations for the loss of personal happiness and social prosperity.

At first glance his admiration for Beethoven appears strange. The musician and the dramatist are in most ultimate respects radically different from one another. No intellectual pronouncement of any kind made by Strindberg could have been made by Beethoven. The German composer lived and worked solely to attain and to rejoice in spiritual and artistic victories, and to see

whatever of good there was in things. But the Swedish dramatist said, "The fire of hell is the wish to rise in the world; the Powers awaken this wish and allow the damned souls to get all they want: but as soon as the goal is reached and the wish fulfilled, everything seems worthless and the victory is null and void."

Beethoven was very sad in his last years. His affliction of deafness almost wore out his iron courage; and though he knew his greater works would one day be understood and accepted by the world, it was a distress to him to know that many of them were for the time being rejected. Yet he could never have said with Strindberg, "Am I not visited by poverty and forsaken by my friends? My harp is turned to mourning, and my pipe unto the voice of them that weep." The metaphysical interpretation of the nature of Beethoven's art, and therefore the analysis of the man himself, is that of a successful conflict waged between the defects and shortcomings of humanity and the higher spiritual qualities of existence—the victory going to the latter, and the former being transformed as a result into beauty, power and strength. In this Beethoven is for many people the greatest among great musical artists—in the sense that he brings courage, and out of the courage, consolation. Strindberg, on the contrary, was haunted by a sense of sin and explains himself as a man doomed to be, as it were, the companion of the damned that are whirled around in Dante's hell—than which nothing could be more bitter or more removed from the high calm which is the final achievement of all Beethoven's work.

Both Beethoven and Strindberg ate the stale bread of adversity. Their childhood was equally filled with difficulties and misery, and at any moment the later life of each was marked by subversive conditions; but an ecstatic, rapturous love of humanity in general and a sublimely confident belief in the final goodness of things are expressed in Beethoven's works from the start, rising at last into the Choral Symphony, the Solemn Mass, and the last set of string-quartets. But Strindberg (or at least some of the critics of his dramas have said this) created a Kingdom of Evil for humanity, where the observer is terribly influenced if he allows the dramatist's "false truth," but where everything seems absurd, and even laughable, to the observer who denies it. In his period of madness (1896) Strindberg felt that God had handed him over to Satan to be tried in the furnace of affliction; and though he had visions of himself regenerated by suffering, he likened himself to Job, so that the biblical books he most delighted in were those of Job and Jeremiah.

The New Testament, it seems, moved Strindberg not at all. The Old meant much to him, since as he said, "In an obscure manner, it chastens me." Beethoven cursed his foes, but he also laughed at them. Strindberg hated his foes with an ancient Hebrew hatred. He thought less of Jesus than of Buddha, because where Buddha had the courage to renounce the world for his faith—even wife and child when in the full possession of married bliss and domestic happiness—Jesus avoided every contact with the permitted joys of the world.

Now Beethoven planned to write a tenth symphony into which a kind of Buddhistic philosophy might enter, and like Strindberg he believed in "renouncement," also he had no conventional Christian tenets in his religion. But in the larger issues, his philosophy, and therefore his art, is Christian: and that separates him from Strindberg more than anything else, for it signifies that where for Beethoven the end of things is love and companionship, for Strindberg it is scorn, hatred, and isolation. The one inscribed on a manuscript, "From the heart it came; to the heart let it go." The other produced as one of his last works a composition bearing the title *Lonely*, and at the end of the autobiographical "Inferno" he writes, "Such then is my life: a sign, an example to serve for the improvement of others—a proverb, to show the nothingness of fame and popularity—a proverb, to show the young men how they ought not to live—a proverb, because I who thought myself a prophet, am now revealed as a braggart."

Thus where Beethoven was formed for victory and self-respect, Strindberg was formed for defeat and self-disgust; and the art of the two men is different as their characters are different. And yet Strindberg desired to be what Beethoven actually was; and that is the saddest part of his tragedy: he seemed to mislay the key of the heaven his passionate soul demanded and to lock himself out of the very gate he strove to enter.

The explanation of Beethoven's great power over Strindberg as an individual is, I think, simple. It was not a case of opposites attracting, but of likes meeting. Beethoven's work is in its larger issue a record of his spiritual experiences and development, his torn heart, his depressions and recoveries, and his gigantic struggles with Fate, all ending in hymns of praise. Strindberg too, a traveller upon dark ways, knew something of the pain, neglect, disease, storm and strife, that in no common measure attended upon Beethoven. He too thirsted after the Infinite. And the experience of his own struggle and triumph (though the triumph was only

partial, tending at the close of his life to a Swedenborgian mysticism) worked towards this faculty of his to understand Beethoven.

Like begets like, and I sometimes think we can only get true sympathy from our own kind; and these two, Strindberg and Beethoven, were, above all things, alike in that they could hope desperately, love passionately (and not only in the abstract, general manner of the humanitarian), and labour continually for what they thought was justice. Strindberg was what I have showed him to be, out of his own words. But spiritually and intellectually he desired to be something other, and I believe he saw in Beethoven the man and the artist of his ultimate ideals.

For Beethoven was a rebel against bourgeois humdrum thought, meaningless faith and false conventions, and orthodox artistic *eidola*—the “idols” of rule and custom in the world of art and life. Strindberg was a rebel of the same order, though with less of balance or of concentration on pure beauty. Beethoven, putting, as I have said, into his music his own spiritual and emotional experiences, made works that form a progressive record, almost a diary, of his life. Strindberg created a similar personal record. Whatever subject happened at a certain moment to absorb him, that subject became for him the material of a play, a poem, a novel, or a piece of autobiography. Each, again, was purified by suffering; for although Beethoven’s purification led to clear, strong, and noble music, and Strindberg’s only to a withdrawn and egoistic mysticism, such a mystical state as that represents none the less a sloughing off of the useless garments of the body and the mind and the world, and is therefore a purifying of the soul.

And again, as Beethoven found a complete amelioration of his personal distress in the loveliness of musical tone and a justification of his spiritual concerns in the significance of those tones, so Strindberg found the same in his love of flowers and of children. Furthermore both men made the great discovery that the choice of the artist must lie “between laurels and luxury” (as Strindberg phrased it), and each chose the laurels; though where in Beethoven’s art the attendant material discomfort is revealed, comparatively speaking, as more or less patiently accepted, in Strindberg’s it is revealed (until nearly the close of his life) as something perpetually annoying and irritating.

Each had courage of the same kind; and when Strindberg writes the following passage, at the back of his mind he might

almost have had some thought of the Beethoven he so deeply admires and cherishes: "The summing up of my reckoning with life is as follows: If I have sinned, on my word of honor, I have sufficiently been punished. That is certain. As to the fear of hell, I have wandered through a thousand hells without trembling, and have experienced enough of them to feel an intense desire to depart from the vanities of this world, which I have always despised. Born with a heavenly homesickness, I wept as a child over the filthiness of life, and felt strange and homeless among relations and friends. . . ." The more we know of Beethoven, and the more we understand his mind and character, the more these and similar passages in Strindberg appear to apply to him, and the more we can understand Strindberg's great regard for him.

Even in the personal concerns of life the desires of the two men were in agreement, however little either of them contrived to realize their desires. Beethoven's domestic arrangements are notoriously the worst recorded of any great musician. Strindberg seems hardly to have lived a single day in absolute comfort of home-life. Yet both craved the peace of ordered domesticity. Beethoven thought he had discovered a heaven on earth when he visited the quiet, clean, well-managed home of Carl Czerny, the piano teacher.

Though Beethoven, ever longing to marry, never did marry, and though Strindberg married three times and each time disastrously, they both believed that the height of human bliss was embodied in a happy marriage. Even Strindberg, the enemy of women, could yet say that if ever wealth came to him, he would dispose of it to the fostering of three things only: "scientific and religious objects, humanitarianism, and finally—wedded love."

Again, Strindberg seems to have loved all children who were sweet, kindly, and good, which indicates that he had a strong paternal instinct; and Beethoven's thwarted love of children and his unnatural, undesired bachelor state made him, late in life, lavish on his nephew a love that must have been something of a trial to the youth, driving him to actions that filled his uncle with a more exquisite pain than almost anything else in his life. In a pathetic passage Strindberg—when craving for peace—says of himself, and he could have said it of Beethoven, "I yearn for married happiness, refined surroundings, charming children, cleanliness and comfort, charitable judgment, generous hospitality, and such like." Therefore he could do justice to Beethoven, and determine the spiritual content of his music, for the reason that they both passed through profound spiritual crises born of the miseries of life and the ambiguity of existence.

III.

Strindberg spent many hours at his piano, over which hung a cast of the death-mask of Beethoven. He died shortly after the loss of the *Titanic*, and it is said that during his last days he would go to the instrument and improvise quiet, thoughtful variations upon the hymn which, for a little while after the tragedy, was known as "The *Titanic* death hymn." It is the hymn "Nearer My God to Thee." One day a poet may be inspired to a grave work on the subject of Strindberg, battered by life's storms, at last at peace, and awaiting his ending, filling the moments with this most serenely confident of all the hymns of emotional mood familiar to English people. Perhaps he saw in the sinking vessel and the doomed people upon it the final symbol of himself. And, in his farewell message to his friend Tor Aulin (1866-1914), the Swedish violinist and composer, he inscribed the message as from Saul to David—yet once again likening himself to the king whom music soothed and quieted. For at all times in his life, when work failed him and he could not express himself in words, he found that music gave him strength and brought him deliverance and peace—that diapason of the Universe.

He cherished the Beethoven sonatas above all else. Into the "Appassionata" he read an expression of "the world's travail in its chaos before the dawn of universal bliss"; and he worked the thought out into a poem called "The Journey to Town." Of the finale of the "Moonlight" sonata he said that the music formed the highest interpretation of humanity's yearning for deliverance—a conception of the work which he may well have gathered from Paderewski's sublime performance of it.

His employment of Beethoven's music to intensify the mood of a dramatic situation will one day be made an important feature in the study of the metaphysical nature of that composer's works. And any critic and expositor of Strindberg who happens to be a musician, will make the same a vital feature of his writings on the dramatist. But after all, neither musicians nor literary people are likely to do much in either direction. The latter are, in general, insensitive to music (though perhaps less so now than formerly), and the former are either insensitive to the poetic attributes of their art, or they lack a reasonable and consistent idea of the matter. Many professional musicians, indeed, deny that music has, or can have, any definite character. They do not deny its expression of emotional feelings, or even its vividness of portrayal in certain connections and associations; but they do deny that it can have anything of an exact significance.

Beethoven himself thought otherwise. He once said: "My works are inspired by moods which the poet translates into words and I into sound; the moods rage and storm in my soul until they stand before me in the form of notes of music." When towards the end of his life a change came over the world of music, and composers began to give poetic titles to their pieces (as the "Aufschwung" of Schumann to which I shall refer later), Beethoven deplored the change; and he said to a friend, "When I wrote my sonatas, people were more poetic than they are now, and such indications of the meaning of music were unnecessary. At that time everyone recognized that the slow movement of the sonata in D" (Op. 10, No. 3, preceding the "Pathétique") "expressed a melancholic state of mind, and that it portrayed every subtle shade and every phase of melancholy, and there was no need to give a title to afford a clue to its meaning." He said further that in others of his works people in his younger days could see that "they represented a struggle between two opposing principles, or an argument between two individuals."

In his play "There are Crimes and Crimes," Strindberg incorporates the seventeenth sonata, in D minor, Op. 31, No. 2. This is the work that is conventionally called "The Dramatic," as the 8th, 14th, and 23rd are called the "Pathetic," the "Moonlight," and the "Appassionata." The 14th has won the name "Moonlight" only because its first movement is like a nocturne: this 17th is "dramatic" only in the same part. It expresses a conflict; and Paul Bekker, summarizing the general metaphysical view, calls it "a dark and terrible piece of work."

Strindberg had so intense and complete a perception of the poetic and dramatic reality of this music that the piece stood for him exactly as a pictorial leit-motive of Wagner stood for Wagner. Therefore he could conceive of it as a tonal expression of the dramatic passions actuating the man and woman present in the first scene of the second act of his play. The two people, Maurice and Henriette, charged with sinful thoughts, and planning a sinful action, hold a long conversation; and according to the stage directions: "During this entire scene, the pianist in the next room has been practising the sonata in D minor sometimes pianissimo, sometimes wildly fortissimo; now and then he has kept silent for a little while, and at other times nothing has been heard but a part of the finale: bars 96 to 107."

The direction to make use of only twelve bars of the last movement is interesting and curious. The middle movement of the sonata is a composition expressive of profound calm, as if

the inconclusive emotional outcome of the first movement—it dies out as in distant thunder—had forced the mind of the creator to something of sheer beauty and lofty idealism. This middle movement can hardly be required by Strindberg, for it is in no way appropriate to the scene. But the finale consists of highly concentrated, very consistent music, which has been described as a “fantastic night-piece,” “a midnight gallop of mysterious horses,” “a fugitive motive of perpetual semiquavers,” etc. It is in effect an etherealized transmutation of some stormy quality of the first movement. One feels that one of the emotional elements of the music there must now be imagined as active in a perplexed dream. The twelve bars stipulated by Strindberg are those which come at the beginning of the middle section of the movement. They contain only three harmonies. And they belong to a sentence which is incomplete until the next four bars (108-111) are ended. Now if “the pianist in the next room” reiterates the twelve bars continuously without the complementary four, the effect upon an auditor who is as sensitive to the meaning of the music as Strindberg was, will be little less than maddening; he will feel that he is brought into association with some feverish imprisoned spirit striving without avail to break his chains.¹

Very significant again is Strindberg's employment of a movement from Bach in “The Dream Play.” A dance is proceeding. In another room, which forms the front of the visible stage, is Edith, who, in answer to something thrown at her scornfully, says, “I know that I am ugly and that nobody wants to dance with me. But at least I might be spared being reminded of that.” Then she goes to a piano, and begins to play from a clavier toccata of Bach. The stage directions read: “The waltz music from within is heard faintly at first. Then it grows in strength, as if to compete with the Bach Toccata. Edith prevails over it and brings it to silence. Dancers appear in the doorway to hear her play. Everybody on the stage stands still and listens reverently.”

What Edith plays is the second slow movement of the toccata. Strindberg calls it Bach's “Op. 10,” incorrectly, because Bach's music has no opus numbers: the work was probably No. 10 in whatever collection of the clavier works he owned. In order that

¹Since the above was written, I have heard the play, with the music, as broadcast by the B. B. C. The effect of the music was all that was intimated in the text—and more. As the emotion of the actors gained in intensity, so did the significance of the music clarify itself increasingly, until it actually seemed as if the one genius, Strindberg, must have been the author of the two things. And I may say that this impression was confirmed when I heard the play a second time during the week, the B. B. C. “sending it over” twice.

there shall be no mistake as to what Edith has to play, however, Strindberg quotes the opening bar of the Adagio.

There are seven Bach toccatas for clavier, not so well known, perhaps, as they deserve to be. They consist for the most part of a brilliant prelude, a slow movement, a fugue of serious tone, another slow movement, and a further fugue of more lively character. The Strindberg toccata is the one in D minor. Except for the second Adagio, it is youthful and immature. But this Adagio is charged through and through with the quality of pleading tenderness that marked certain types of slow music in the period from 1675 to 1750. Not only is the mood tender and pleading, but the expression is curiously insistent. After a little free prelude, a theme appears which is repeated "end on end" no less than ten times, unchanging in respect of simplicity, but moving continuously in and out of the flat keys related to the key of G minor. The tenfold repetition ends in F minor. A brief modulation then takes the music back to G minor again, where begins another series of presentations of the theme. But now the theme is modified. Its tone is quieter, its spirit lighter and more confident. And the keys employed are not the grave flat keys, but the open, free keys of D minor and A minor.

This little Adagio is actually a musical poem in miniature. It represents music in the ideal state, where the human emotion expressed is still so near to actuality that one who has the right creative understanding of Bach can imagine facial expression and hear appropriate words, or at least hear the appropriate tones of the voice. The little fragment (for it is hardly more than that) is for Strindberg a spiritual symbol. He sets it as an operative force, a magic wand, against the waltz of the dancers, which in its turn is for him a worldly symbol. And he makes the spiritual overcome the worldly, until the dancers leave their dancing, the players cease their playing, and all stand and listen reverently.

Many fine and noble things have been said about music, and of Bach in particular. But nothing perhaps has quite the fineness and nobility of Strindberg's action in this instance; because what he does is to create a dramatic demonstration of the spiritual power of the music, and thence to demonstrate the superior worth of spiritual matters over those that are not spiritual.

These actions of Strindberg must be inspired by his desire to content himself. He cannot hope that his audience will all be music-lovers, properly intimate with the music he adopts, or that if they do know the music, they will have the right sense of its mystery and precise poetic significance.



August Strindberg

(From the etching by Anders Zorn)

(By courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

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IV.

His introduction of known compositions into his plays are the opposite of illustrative allusions; they are a declaration or demonstration of profound affinities—and as such, they might by the irreverent be considered as yet further manifestations of his unbalanced nature: since what could be more mad than, according to the average conception of things, to argue that instrumental music is an art of dramatic character!

Of course, when the music incorporated in this way is itself poetically entitled, the position is different, even for the non-metaphysical musician, for whom music is either "form" or merely a pleasant sensuous entertainment. Thus Saint-Saëns' *Danse macabre*, a piece inspired by Holbein's picture, "The Dance of Death," will appeal to every one as quite reasonably identified with Strindberg's play of the same title as the picture. (It represents, in his employment of it there, a mocking denial of hope.) And the themes from Wagner's "The Valkyrie" are palpably congruent with the dramatic situation in the phantasy of "The Ghost Sonata," because the dramatic nature of the Wagner themes is presented by the opera of which they are a part. Equally intelligible again to the most average musical sensibility is Strindberg's use of three numbers from Haydn's "Seven Last Words" in his "Easter"—a play expressive of spiritual peace, the growth from fear of fate to confidence and courage born of the certain knowledge of God's inevitable presence. (As prelude to the first act he asks for the Introduction, *maestoso adagio*; as prelude to the second, for the first number, "Pater dimitte illis," and as prelude to the third act, for the fifth number, an *adagio*.)

Where the music adopted is instrumental ("pure," "abstract," "absolute," are the philosophical terms for it), the best the average person can allow Strindberg is the excuse that his interpretations are "subjective"; and that the only respect and consideration they are worthy of is what we grant the personal notions of any great man, without in the slightest degree admitting that they have authority for other individuals.

The objection is fairly reasonable. The meaning of instrumental music is bound to vary with the varying nature of those who listen to it. Yet when to Strindberg's historical knowledge, and his agreement with the ideas of an entire world of musical thinkers, is added a creative energy akin to that of the composer, the interpretation offered by such a dramatic employment of music is something that goes beyond convention and prejudice, and deserves at least as much sympathetic and intelligent attention as

is given to the interpretation of the music by the master performers—Paderewski, Weingartner, Richter, Kreisler, and the rest, all of whom play, not according to some detached "abstract" conception, but to an idea of true human significance, that may be all the more true since it cannot be expressed verbally. It was Mendelssohn who said: "What! music has no ideas? On the contrary, it has ideas; and an idea is not fit for music until it has become simply too clear to be uttered in words."

At the back of all intellectual ideas is a primal emotion, which music expresses; and I believe that when Strindberg sets out to identify known instrumental compositions with a determined situation, his plan is to enforce his verbal and dramatic presentation of the idea with something that belongs absolutely to the primal emotional qualities of the idea. No doubt he was led to his conception of the meaning of a piece by some event, personal to himself—it may be, for example, that when pondering some problem of humanity he came, during the intensest processes of his thought, upon some work that seemed to him akin to the solution of the problem he was aiming for—and therefore that piece of music for him became associative, as national songs and hymns are associative, thereby acquiring their definite significance. But this is precisely how Beethoven worked, as the words I have quoted from him show. Strindberg's actions of this kind come of creative imagination of the highest possible order. That is to say, they are actions of genius.

V.

Frederick Delius was acquainted with Strindberg in 1895 and 1896. This was the period when his mind gave way, and when for some months he was insane. It was in Paris, and the autobiographical "Inferno" covers the period. Delius wrote for a musical paper a two-page article on his recollections of the acquaintance, and he makes it very clear how obsessed Strindberg was with suspicions that people were deliberately trying to slight and insult him, and with fears that some were planning to assassinate him—all of which is very painfully apparent in the pages of "Inferno." But the English musician says no word of his interest in music.

The "Inferno" is, however, shot through in one part with Schumann's "Aufschwung." This piece is a portion of the "Fantasiestücke," Op. 12. It is a lovely composition, as indicated by the title, music of "elevation" or "aspiration," and for many persons it is animated with a beauty rare even among the produc-

tions of the Romantic school of German composers. But for Strindberg it became a thing of horror. Among his "enemies" is a Russian named Popoffsky (actually the Pole, Przybyszewsky), and he discovers his presence in Paris in this manner: "I sit one oppressive afternoon bent over my work, when, all of a sudden, behind the foliage of the garden in front of me, I hear a piano begin to play. Like a war-horse at the sound of the trumpet, I prick up my ears, straighten myself, and in a great state of excitement struggle for breath. Someone is playing Schumann's *Aufschwung*; and what is more, *he* is playing—he, my Russian friend, my pupil, who called me 'Father,' who called me 'Master,' and kissed my hands, whose life began where mine ended. He has come from Vienna to Paris to ruin me, as he ruined me in Vienna—and why? Because Fate has arranged that his present wife, before he knew her, was my sweetheart. Was it my fault that matters so fell out? . . . He continues to play the *Aufschwung*, which no one can play so well. He plays invisible behind the green wall, and his magic harmonies rise above its blossoming creepers like butterflies flying towards the sun. . . . But why is he playing? Is it to inform me of his coming, to frighten me and drive me to flight? . . ."

Then later: "Schumann's *Aufschwung* sounds over the deep-leaved trees, but the musician remains invisible and leaves me doubtful as before as to the exact house in which he lives. For a whole month the music continues from four to five in the afternoon. And then, at last (June 2nd) the playing of Schumann's *Aufschwung* has ceased, and I am calm again." To be forced to hear one piece for an hour every afternoon for a whole month would be torture for any man or woman, quite apart from the saddest of all sad states—the distractions of insanity.

Another horror of which the piano was the medium is recorded in the "Inferno," though only to the extent of a passing reference. Three Scandinavian ladies have rooms near his hotel. Each has a piano, and they all play when he wants to sleep: "I am convinced it is a plot of the ladies whose company I have avoided." Thus the acute nervous agitation from which Strindberg suffered was intensified by the music of his neighbors, and it was one of his hallucinations that people were using music as a means to torture him. Yet he found pleasure in the sound of crying babies, because that reminded him of children and took him back to the early days of his first marriage, when for a little while he was happy.

Strindberg's perceptions were extremely acute. A piano badly played in a café causes him to cry out in agony. The vibration of the ground induced by the traffic comes to him as a positive

swaying and trembling. He can analyze into their originals the simultaneous clash of many bells, and he can hear (or he fancies he hears) a cuckoo at an incredible distance.

A passage in the autobiographical "Confessions of a Fool" not only illustrates his sensitiveness to audible impressions, and his power to make thought sing, but forms one of the finest and most accurate descriptions of nature-sounds in all literature: "What depth there was in the bass of the Scotch firs, with their firm and closely-set needles forming, as it were, gigantic guitars; the tall and more pliable stems of the pines gave a higher note—their sibilant fife resembled the hissing of a thousand snakes; the dry rustling of the branches of the birch trees recalled to me memories of my childhood, with its mingled griefs and pleasures; the rustling of the dead leaves clinging to the branches of the oaks sounded like the rustling of paper; the muttering of the junipers was almost like the whispering voices of women, telling each other secrets. The gale tore off the branch of an alder tree, and it crashed to the ground with a hollow thud. I could have distinguished a pine-cone from that of a Scotch fir by the sound it made in falling."

Walt Whitman, Thomas Hardy, and Ruskin alone among the nineteenth century writers can describe sounds or sights in this way. And in the case of Strindberg, the faculty extended to the tones of the human voice, so that he could write of them with the same delicate particularization; especially when the speaker was a child.

VI.

Amid the darkness of this man's wild, unsettled, restless life, his intercourse with the young shines like a steadfast beam of light. That intercourse combined with his love of music and flowers: "Just as my mental suffering reaches its highest pitch, I discover some pansies blooming in the tiny flowerbed; they shake their heads as though they wished to warn me of danger, and one of them with a simple child's face and large eyes signals to me. . . ." And the result was as much of salvation for him as he was destined to know; for although he found the joy of life in its violent and cruel struggles yet he was too often in need of such things to dispel his sadness—music, flowers and children.

A passage must be quoted first to illustrate this truth, and secondly to bring this essay to an end on a note of comparative sweetness and serenity. "Christina says, 'You must not go to sleep, papa!' Though feeling weary and exhausted, I obeyed my

child, I don't know why myself, but there is a tone in her voice which I cannot resist. Outside before the door, an organ-grinder is playing a waltz-tune. I propose to the little one to dance with the nurse who has accompanied her. Attracted by the music, the neighbors' children come, the organ-grinder is invited into the kitchen and we improvise a dance. This goes on for an hour, and my sadness is dispelled. In order to distract myself and keep sleep off" (fearing the terrible dreams that haunt him) "I take the Bible, my oracle, and open it haphazard: 'But the spirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the Lord troubled him. And Saul's servants said unto him, Behold now, an evil spirit from God troubleth thee. Let our Lord now command thy servants, which are before thee, to seek out a man, who is a cunning player on the harp, and it shall come to pass when the evil spirit from God is upon thee, that he shall play with his hand, and thou shalt be well.'"

Thus from a child, from dance and music, from the high spirit of the game, and from the grave, universal lessons of ancient literature, some peace and courage descended upon the distracted Strindberg, and he knew at times a fair measure of rest and something of salvation.

EQUESTRIAN BALLETS OF THE BAROQUE PERIOD

By PAUL NETTL

FOR the beauty-loving man of the Renaissance and Baroque periods certain regions were as a matter of course included in the sphere of practical esthetics which are now regarded as anything but esthetic. Just as in olden times Nature had hardly any esthetic import save when formalized by the hand of man, being prized only in the form of artificial gardens with grottos and fountains, so the broad realm of sport, and even that of serious military action, were now ordered in accordance with esthetic laws.

It is odd how in early military treatises tactics are treated on choreographic principles. The frightfulness of our murderous modern weapons contrasts with the sportive treatment of warfare during the Middle Ages and the dawn of the modern era. Strife between large formations, carried on within a marked and limited space, is theatrical art, practical art so to speak, just as the incredibly magnificent funeral ceremonies for Charles III of Lorraine, for example, constituted finer stagecraft than paltry state ceremonials or the spectacles of the Jesuits.

Indeed, in those days the theatre played a part quite different from its present rôle; it had not yet withdrawn exclusively to the stage, but revealed itself to the play- and show-loving populace in religious dances and processions, in the chase and animal-baiting, in military displays, in dances and assemblies.

So it is that we find the old military literature interwoven with choreography; for instance, Möller's "Trilekunst zu Fuss" (Infantry Drill), published at Lübeck in 1672, gives minute instructions for grouping foot-soldiers in a pattern representing the arms of the imperial city of Lübeck. Only gradually and much later does this predominant formalism disappear from the art of military manoeuvring, to lose its importance altogether in this age of machine-gun and gas-attack.

The tournament occupied an esthetic place of its own, midway between serious fighting and dramatic show. It was precisely regulated, its limits carefully laid down, as an end in itself. The most skilful and courageous knight won the battle, and was awarded the prize and the hand of the loveliest or most distinguished lady.

Not until the introduction of firearms was the tournament turned into a tilting-joust—idealized, as it were, in a theatrical

act of allegorical character. A number of such jousts with musical accompaniment are still extant, more especially from the earliest period of the music-drama. In 1615, during the carnival, such a musical tourney, *La Guerra d'Amore*, was enacted in honor of Duke Federico d'Urbino, the betrothed of Claudia, the sister of Cosimo II de' Medici. The text was by A. Salvadori and Grazi, the music by Signorini, Turco, and (finally) Jacopo Peri, founder of opera. An engraving by Jacques Callot shows the disposition of the military formations. In the Piazza di S. Croce in Florence an oval field is formed by enclosing a space with tiers of benches. The grand-ducal box is seen, flanked by guards. Infantry and cavalry are ranged in squadrons symmetrically disposed according to stage rules. On a vessel—an indispensable requisite of Italian stagecraft—is borne the allegorical figure whose rôle it is to supply the vocal part of this ballet-tourney.

Another operatic tournament of that period was the *Liberazione di Ruggiero* by Francesca, the gifted daughter of Caccini (co-founder of opera). The performance took place at the villa Poggio Imperiale in Florence in the year 1625, in honor of the visiting Polish prince Ladislav Sigismund. Express mention is made of those in charge of the scenery and machines, and likewise of the authors of the "ballo a piedi e a cavalli." The participants on foot and on horseback are carefully listed by name, and are portrayed in a still extant engraving by Alfonso Parigi. In the castle courtyard a quadrangle is marked off, on which is erected a kind of semicircular vestibule. In two not quite evenly matched squadrons (engravings of that period were not too scrupulous about historical accuracy) the combatants face each other in open order. According to the libretto, twenty-four mounted men took part in the ballet at the close of the opera. We may assume that the ballet-music, like that for the tournament, was not written by Francesca herself but obtained elsewhere, as was often the case. On such occasions trumpet-music already on hand was frequently employed, for in Italy, as in Germany, the trumpeters had a guild of their own, with special craft secrets and unusual musical terminology.

In later times Florence often saw similar equestrian ballets. For example, in 1641 the *Mondo festeggiante, Balletto a cavallo nel Teatro congiunto al Palazzo del Serenissimo Gran Duca*.¹ Solerti,² citing a diary covering the court festivals between 1600 and 1637, mentions a number of them.

¹The World *en fête*: Equestrian Ballet in the Theatre attached to the Palace of His Serene Highness the Grand Duke.

²"Musica, Ballo e Drammatica."

As early as 1608 a *Balletto di Cavalli* took place in which Francesco de'Medici appeared as Æolus, god of the winds, with a host of followers. The libretto, "Ballo e Giostra de' Venti," contains a cut that gives an idea of this performance, given in celebration of the marriage of the grand duke to an Austrian archduchess. Here again we see the Piazza di S. Croce as the scene. The equestrian ballet proper was performed by thirty-two horsemen in three concentric circles, flanked on the right by cavalry, on the left by foot-soldiers. The four infantry squares were divided into two groups by the indispensable ship. Unfortunately we have no details concerning the music, because, excepting some few madrigals by G. S. Strozzi, nothing pertaining to this *giostra* has been preserved.

A great many Tuscan equestrian ballets of this period have been preserved, and a conception of them may be obtained from numerous "cartels" or descriptive placards. In 1616, a year after the above-mentioned *Guerra d'Amore*, an imposing performance took place, again on the Piazza di S. Croce, this time with allegorical figures from Greek mythology. The scene is Parnassus, where Apollo and the Muses, with various others such as Fama, Vesta, etc., play their parts. The music, composed by Jacopo Peri and Paolo Francesino, is unfortunately not extant. The poem was by Andrea Salvadori. The description of this festival piece, which consists of a sort of vocal introduction followed by the ballet on horseback, shows precisely the same plan as the later celebrated Viennese *Rosballette* (horse-ballets), of which more anon. The contestants are Ussimano, king of the Medes, with his followers, and Idaspe, king of Armenia, with his. The picture shows an oval grand stand in the Piazza di S. Croce; the enclosure is divided midway into two parts by a V-shaped barrier, the line of demarcation being formed by two bodies of infantry, approached by two parallel squadrons of cavalry in spiral formation. The left-hand portion of the field is reserved for the musical and poetic part of the play.

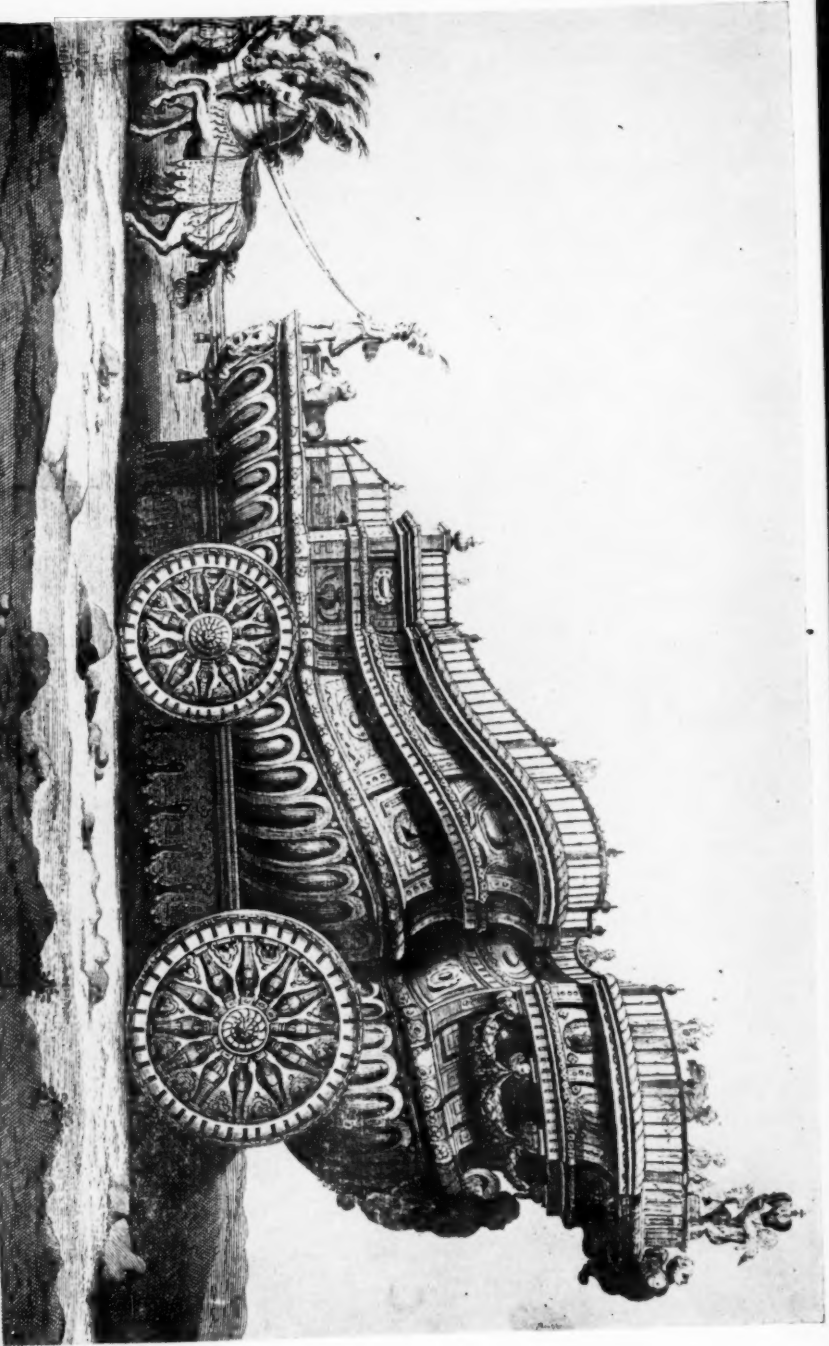
In 1620 the arrival of the Grand Duke and Archduchess in Florence was also celebrated by a military ballet. This time the Danube, Elbe, and other rivers of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy were represented. After appropriate declamations the cavaliers' race was run, "Il Fiume Danubio" doubtless carrying off the victory.

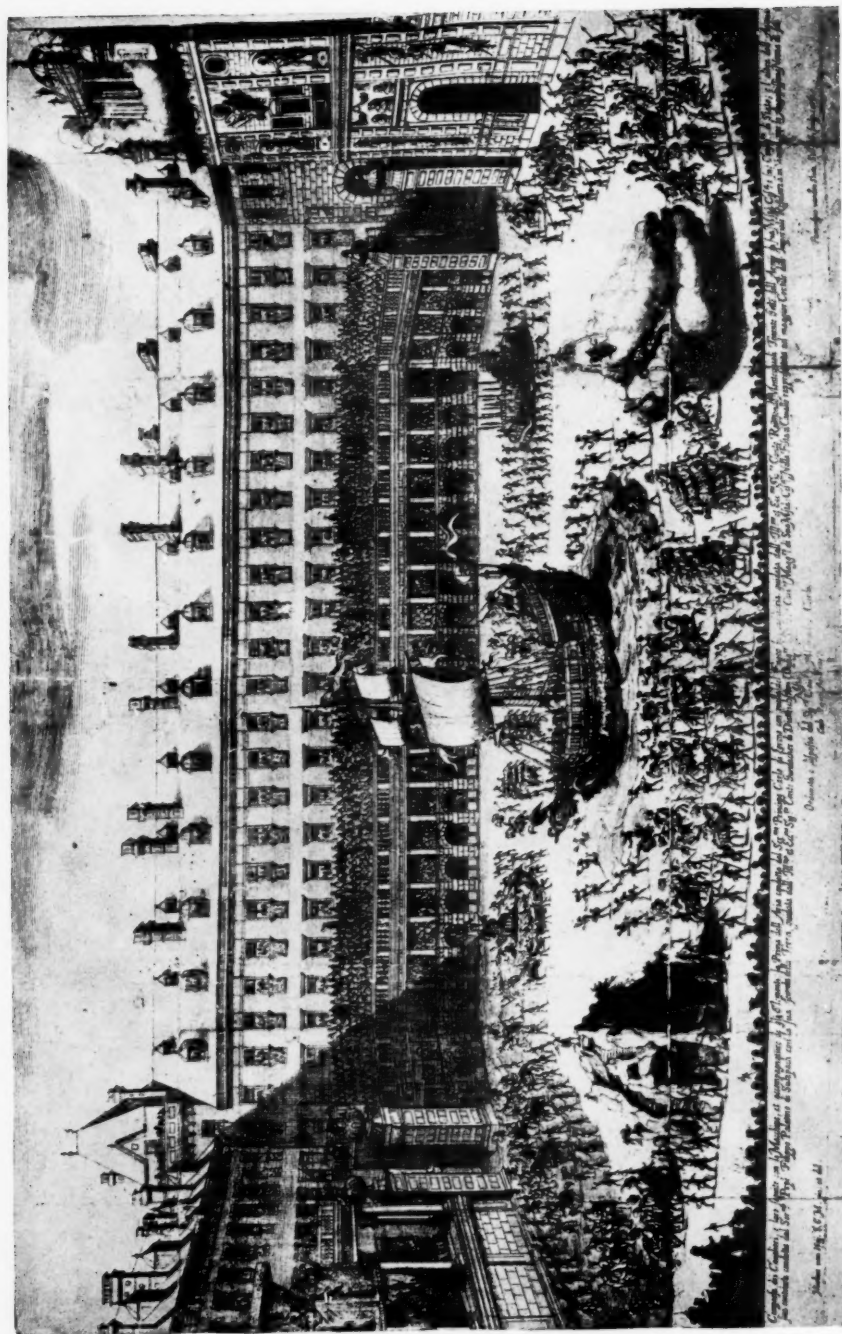
The diary published by Solerti also mentions (Feb. 2, 1625) the tournament-opera by Francesca Caccini, but without going into details.

Carro della Gloria per il seguito di Sua Maestà Cesà.

The Chariot of Glory for the train of Her Imperial Majesty,
 carrying from Siegen-Street close Louth and Wessers, Preuden-Pest zu Pferd
 1667

*Scal. Pictor. Anno 1700. S. C. M. p. 17. del
 Pictor. Anno 1700. S. C. M. p. 17. del*





The "Burghof encircled by tiers of seats" (see page 78),
 engraving from "Sieg-Strait dess Luft und Wassers, Freuden-Fest zu Pferd," 1667

This same diary likewise notes several "Balletti a Cavallo" in 1637, on the occasion of the wedding of Grand Duke Ferdinand II and Victoria d'Urbino. A cartel still preserved pictures the festival. In the centre we see the foot-soldiers flanked by horsemen, the individual characters being ranged around the principal group. There are concentric, star-shaped and cruciform formations, but everywhere symmetrical arrangement is prescribed, especially when the chief figure, be it Fama, Toscana, Austria, or another, is presented to the public gaze flanked by horse and foot.

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History tells us that France also had these *Caroussels*, notably under Louis XIV. The French ballets were derived from the sport-meetings introduced by Henri II, a true prince of the Renaissance.

The Italian *trionfi* and festival processions were transplanted to France, just as Italian opera was. Even the descriptions of the earliest of these French festivals are drawn up in Italian. The "Course de Festes et de Bague faite," published in 1672, gives illustrations of these most gorgeous of all spectacles. So famed were these French equestrian exhibitions, that Philipp Harsdörfer, in his "Gesprächspiele," designates "Schauspiele zu Ross" (dramas on horseback) as of Parisian origin.

Yet these equestrian plays were first exported from Italy, not to France, but to Austria, Ferdinand III having introduced some of the Tuscan examples to Vienna as early as 1631. The Hapsburgs had brought the Spanish school of equitation (of Arabian origin) to Vienna, where, indeed, one may still to-day admire traditional feats of horsemanship, performed by the white Arab stallions of the Spanische Reitschule, which have nothing to do with the circus and are quite obviously influenced by the old Italian ballet. In Austria, then, equestrian sport was invested with a mythological garb for festive purposes. Hence the Austrian *Rossballette*, which came into vogue under Ferdinand III, bear a somewhat different significance from that of the Italian *balletti a cavallo*.³

The classical era of the Austrian *Rossballett* coincides with the high tide of the Baroque period under Leopold I. Of the two grand equestrian ballets performed in 1666 and 1667, the first won worldwide renown because numerous copies of a description were

³Egon Wellesz, in his book on the Ballet-Suites of Johann Heinrich Schmelzer, touches on the question of the precursor of the Austrian equestrian ballet, but is evidently not well acquainted with the vast number of both Italian and Austrian ballets.

sent to all the great courts of Europe. It was entitled "La Contesa dell'aria e dell'acqua" (The Contest between Air and Water), or, in German, "Sieg-Streit dess Lufft und Wassers, Freuden-Fest zu Pferd." The engravings adorning the description published in Vienna by Cosmerovius in 1667, show the performance in the Burghof, or castle yard. On the *carro* sits Fama, singing her arias, which were composed by Bertali. A towering structure of wood had been erected at an outlay of some 600,000 Reichsthaler. The organizer of the festival was Francesco Sbarra, who gives a description of it and also refers to the latest equestrian plays of Tuscany.

The first of these engravings shows a vessel upon which Fama—a winged figure clad in a garment symbolically decorated with eyes, ears and tongues wrought in gold and precious stones, and bearing a silver trumpet in her hand—is drawn in, singing the prologue. The second shows the Burghof encircled by tiers of seats which are reproduced on later engravings. The other pictures supply details, such as the cloud-car (an indispensable requisite in Venetian opera), the cave of Vulcan, etc., and various other particulars of the caroussel. The elements begin their contention; some of the gods espouse the part of Water, others that of Air; the altercation grows more violent, and finally, at the call "Battaglia!" battle is joined. The machines are pushed aside, and the real business of the whole, the equestrian ballet, begins, wherein every art of horsemanship is displayed. The choruses and vocal soli of Bertali have disappeared, but the music for the equestrian ballets has been preserved. The composer who wrote the instrumental music for all the ballets and court festivities, dances, balls, bals costumés, and similar gayeties, was Johann Heinrich Schmelzer, a Viennese.⁴ Schmelzer, in his ballet-arias, was the first to write genuine Viennese tunes and dances pervaded by a fresh spirit of Austrian peasant-music, that distinguishes them from the Italian opera-music of his time.

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At the Viennese court it had long been the custom to draw the line strictly between vocal and instrumental composers. Thus the

⁴The importance of Schmelzer for Viennese music I have demonstrated in my work on "Die Wiener Tanzkomposition in der 2. Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts." I have also edited several numbers of his ballet-music for the "Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich." On Saturday, June 18, 1932, a brilliant exhibition of a "*Rosseballett*" with the music of Schmelzer, was given at the Spanische Reitschule in Vienna, as one of the historical features in the program of the International Music Festival.

operas were composed exclusively by Italians—Bertali, Sances, Marc' Antonio Cesti, Antonio Draghi, and the two Zianis (uncle and nephew)—whereas the ballet-music occurring in every opera was written by Germans. These German instrumental composers succeeded each other in the following order from the time of Ferdinand III: Wolfgang Ebner, reputed to have been an excellent organist; Johann Heinrich Schmelzer and his son Anton Andreas Schmelzer; Johann Joseph Hoffer; and Nicola Matteis of England, who wrote all the ballet-music for the opera down to the reign of Charles VI, and of whose compositions a great number have been preserved.

Far above all the rest towers Johann Heinrich Schmelzer. He wrote, among others, the equestrian ballet of 1666 already analysed by Wellesz, even the printed score of which is still extant. The scenarium of another equestrian ballet I discovered in the library of Count Lobkowitz at Raudnitz; unfortunately the music to the vocal part, composed by none other than Marc' Antonio Cesti, has been lost, together with the music written by Bertali for the above-mentioned tourney. The printed description of the festival, in large folio, bears on the first page the title *La Germania esultante, Festa a Cavallo. Rappresentata nell'Imperial giardino della Favorita nel giorno natalizio della Sacra Cesarea Real Maestà dell'Imperatrice Margherita. Inventata e descritta da Francesco Sbarra, Consigliero di Sua Maestà Cesarea. In Vienna d'Austria. Appresso Matteo Cosmerovio stampatore della corte. L'anno 1677.* This tourney was performed in the old Favorita. A short description of the festival may be of interest, since it is characteristic of these equestrian ballets in general:

The lists for the tourney are in the old Favorita, wherein tiers of benches are erected. In the centre of these is a grotto from which personages of the highest rank may view the field. First enters the Fourth Squadron of the Kaiser, who himself opens the dance mounted on a richly caparisoned horse bedecked with gold. Then follow six trumpeters and a drummer, after whom, accompanied by twelve lackeys, appears at the head of his squadron the Duke of Lorraine, adorned with silver brocade and red feathers. After these two groups have ridden around the arena, there resounds a "strepitosa armonia da un pianissimo concerto di Timpani e Trombe guerriere," giving the signal for a most remarkable ballet which, after numerous remarkable figures, is interrupted by the entrance of a car drawn by eight fiery horses and escorted by forty pages. Upon a dais within the car is seated Germania, adorned in the same colors as the Kaiser, in a robe wrought of gold and silver. In her right hand she holds a scepter, in her left a globe; her brow is crowned with a diadem decked with feathers. On either side the car is flanked by a powerful chorus representing the hereditary states and bearing

shields and swords. When the car has made the circuit of the arena it stops in the centre, and Germania sings:

Ecco la Grand' Heroina!
 La Germania guerriera
 Co suoi forti Campioni a te s'inchina.
 Io de la bella Europa
 Si gloriosa parte. . . .

After responsive parley between the chorus-leaders, the chorus, and Germania, follows the song:

Di stragi innocenti
 Si copra la terra,
 Esulti ne la Pace hoggi la Guerra.

At this summons the two squadrons feel a warlike spirit enkindle their bosoms; they exchange their steeds for others better fitted for the tournament, while Germania's car withdraws.

A barrier is erected, in the centre of which are set up two sea-monsters as targets for the ball-throwers; also two savages, one on the right side of the upper part of the arena, the other on the left side of the lower part; farther, three Cerberi at opposing points on the field. One Cerberus-head of each three is bent forward in a threatening posture to ward off the sword-strokes; when this head is struck off, another springs out automatically. Now, to the warlike fanfare of the trumpets, the Kaiser sets lance in rest with the utmost skill and elegance, gallops across the field and strikes the head of a Cerberus; thereupon he makes a demivolt, proceeds at a hand-gallop and strikes one of the Tritons with the ball, turns about, gallops swiftly to the second dog's head, strikes it fairly, and then, amid a storm of applause, returns to his place and challenges the Duke of Lorraine. With the heads spitted on their lances they ride to the middle of the field, charge swift as arrows at the Tritons, hit them with their balls, and come back with a left-turn and with drawn swords to the centre, whence they charge against the dog's heads, finishing the contest where they began. Now follow the knights of the squadron, who carry on the contest in similar manner. When this display is ended, the knights contend first in pairs, and thereafter in parties of six, the first group attacking the three Cerberus-heads, the second the Tritons, the third the two savages. All this presents a wonderful diversity, the various weapons being brought into play together, the simultaneous harmony and confusion producing a remarkable spectacle. Of a sudden Germania reappears in the centre of the field, to offer, with chorus and chorus-leaders, the second part of her tribute:

Si serbino l'armi
 At uso migliore,
 Si cangi il tenore
 De bellici carmi.

She then withdraws; the arena is cleared of the traces of the performance, and the two squadrons begin their ballet. To the strains of the *corrente* Counts Dietrichstein and Preiner, on light-footed mounts, charge out from opposite sides expressing the jubilant spirit of the occasion in gay

and skilful curvets; while they rest, the Kaiser and the Duke of Lorraine appear, opposed by two other knights, and execute the first figure of the ballet in the greatest variety of curvets and volts; after which the ballet is ridden—first by four, then by six, and finally by eight knights, the figures changing as the music changes. Thereupon the riders are seen to press forward to the strains of the fiery *giga*, taking the barrier by twos—a magnificent feat never before seen at festivals of this sort. Then some gallop to the centre of the field, while the rest are performing their volts and curvets. Their ballet is now carried on by threes in the four corners of the arena, while two others execute new figures in the centre. Around these two the twelve entwine the round dance “treccia” (or, as it is known in Vienna, in the Venetian form, “Trezza”), which has its counterpart in another winding dance by eight riders. The two convolutions uncoil themselves, the knights reappear in the centre and thence betake themselves toward the spectators’ seats, making way for nine knights who execute the figures of the *sarabanda*. They form a crescent, in the centre of which the Kaiser and the Duke of Lorraine take their stand. Again we behold the knights confronting each other in pairs, executing elaborate steps, at first on the spot and then in motion. The two groups part and stride across the arena, greeted by the tumultuous applause of the spectators. Now the Kaiser with his squadron executes a swift turn toward the Empress and the ladies-in-waiting, to pay them homage; the Duke of Lorraine is not slow to follow, but as the Kaiser assumes the rôle of victor, the Duke perforce stays behind while the two squadrons form a semicircle, in the centre of which the imperial pair take their places.

* *
*

As we know, the *carro* (car) plays an important part in the history of opera. It is the antique car of Thespis, the tradition of which has probably been handed down unbroken in Italy. The scenes of the Italian Renaissance *trionfi* have the *carro* as their nucleus; we recall Quagliati’s celebrated “street-opera” *Carro de Fedeltà*. Fortunately Schmelzer’s ballet-music for Cesti’s *Germania esultante* has been preserved in manuscript in the Vienna National Library, where the greater part of his other ballet-arias may be found. It is a pity that this particular MS. is written out only as a so-called *particell*, i.e., the violin-part with accompanying bass. Hence we see that the use of the so-called “Ballettgeigenstimme” (ballet violin-part) goes back to ancient times, surviving well into the seventeenth century.

It happens that Schmelzer carried on a lively correspondence with the prince-bishop Carl Lichtenstein-Kastelkron in Olmütz, who desired that Schmelzer’s ballet-arias should be sent him regularly; so that we now find in the archives of the bishops of Olmütz in Kremsier (the summer residence of the archbishops) the

full score of most of these ballets which are preserved in Vienna only in *particell*. Unhappily, the score of the equestrian ballet of 1667 is not to be found in Kremsier, so that we have to fall back on the Viennese manuscript. This shows us an Allemande, a Courante, a Gigue and a Sarabande, lively seventeenth-century folk-music for every-day use. From certain annotations we can reconstruct the instrumentation, especially as the figured bass is given. The Gigue and Sarabande particularly show, by the confrontation of bowed and wind-instruments, that we have to do with a double-chorus form, an old Venetian form, which endured in Venetian opera in Vienna even into the eighteenth century. It is characteristic of Baroque art, of the Baroque spirit of festivity, that spatial symmetry should be met by a corresponding acoustic symmetry. And so this Sarabande, given below, shows—as noted in the libretto—the confrontation of two bodies of resonance, strings and wind, which, posted in different parts of the theatre, respond to each other. This kind of musical competition of course finds its converse in the shortwindedness of the musical phrases.

Sarabanda

The musical score for the Sarabanda is presented in three systems. The first system features a Clarini part in the upper staff and a figured bass in the lower staff. The second system introduces a Violini part in the upper staff, while the Clarini continues in the lower staff. The third system features the Violini in the upper staff and the figured bass in the lower staff. The music is in 3/4 time and consists of short, rhythmic phrases.

The equestrian ballets were not confined to Vienna, for other German cities, like Dresden, Munich and Durlach, had similar performances.

In France, with the passing of the Sun-King and amid cumulative serious warlike entanglements, the magnificent equestrian

ballets were gradually bereft of their right to existence. Money was needed for other purposes. The palmy days of the Baroque theatre, in which all of life somehow was theatrically represented, passed away; all that remained of the equestrian ballet centered in the tilting at the ring, the quintain and the jousts, exact descriptions of which have been handed down to us, but which were in no wise comparable in artistic design to the equestrian ballets of the classical period. And in their turn these various forms of tilting on horseback against inanimate targets (mostly dogs' heads, etc.) succumbed to the invasion of English influences, making way for hunting and horse-racing. The eighteenth century knew the equestrian ballet only by hearsay.

(Translated by Theodore Baker)

THE LONGITUDINAL OPEN FLUTES OF CENTRAL ASIA

By VICTOR BELAIEV

THE study of national musical instruments in use at the present day—instruments which in many respects determine the methods of music-making—provides us with much material from which valuable historical deductions may be drawn. In the present instance I confine myself to the comparatively limited question of the development of the longitudinal open flutes (i.e., flutes without a mouthpiece) found among the peoples of Central Asia, but the conclusions reached may serve to illustrate the theory that some attention to national musical instruments is necessary if we would investigate the various stages of the evolution of musical art.

It is common knowledge that the scales of the Greeks and Arabo-Persians, as well as of European peoples (in both folk and art music), are based on the tetrachord; also that the Greeks divided the tetrachord into tones and semitones. But it is not generally known that the accurate division of the tetrachord into three intervals recognized by the Greeks was preceded by a very proximate determination of its extreme notes and its not less approximate division into three intervals on the wind-instruments—on the longitudinal open flutes in particular—in use at the present day among the Turkish peoples of Central and South-West Asia. As an example of such a flute with a four-degree scale I may mention a *sibizga* in the Music History Museum, Leningrad (O. I. No. 1759), constructed to the following measurements:

Fig. 1		590 — I
	32	
		622 — II
	80	
		702 — III
	72	
		774 — U

The middle column of the above table gives the distance in mm. from the upper end (O) of the instrument to each of its holes and to the lower end (U). The figures in the left-hand column denote the distances between the adjoining holes and between the lowest hole and lower end of the instrument. A schematic representation, on a reduced scale, of the *sibizga* will appear thus:



Player on the Bashkir Quray
(after the drawing by P. Rybakov)

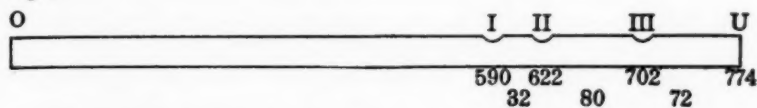


Players on the Turkomanian tuiduk at Merv
(Photo by V. Uspensky)



A Turkomanian tuiduk
(Photo by V. Uspensky)

Fig. 2



As this instrument belongs to the order of open flutes, the octave should be obtained in the middle, and the fourth at three-quarters of the length of the tube (actually somewhat higher, according to Cavaillé-Col) reckoning from the embouchure, i.e., at 581 mm. from O. Instead of this we see that hole I is 590 mm. from O, that is to say, rather below the theoretically determined point. As regards the distance between the adjoining holes, we must conclude that the distance from I to II (32 mm.) in comparison with the distances of 80 and 72 mm. is approximately equal to a semitone, and the distance between II and III (80 mm.) must give approximately a whole tone, greater than the whole tone III - U (72 mm.).

Here it should be remarked that the national wind-instruments are so imperfectly fashioned that an accurate acoustic determination of the intervals on the basis of the measurement of the holes is impossible.

On the sibizga described above we have the following approximate scale, *c* being the tonic:

g - d - e - f

with a distinct attempt to obtain the semitone above the tetra-chord, which testifies to certain later influences, since, as we shall see further on, the distances between the holes of the primitive wind-instruments are usually identical.

Another sibizga, a Kirghiz¹ instrument, has four holes instead of three, which is evidence of some advance in construction. Its measurements are:

	428 - I
53	
	481 - II
56	
	537 - III
56	
	593 - IV
50	
	643 - U

¹Brought from the Asay valley (in the eastern part of modern Uzbekistan) by A. F. Eichhorn, the first investigator of the music of Central Asia. It is at present in the Museum of the Moscow State Conservatory (No. 8).

From these figures it will be seen that the fourth (hole II) and the fifth (hole I) from the fundamental note of the instrument are calculated with sufficient accuracy. But we have too small an interval for a whole tone from IV to U, and the absence of clearly marked semitones throughout the scale. From a series of observations I have made, I find it possible to imagine that the tonic of the scale of this sibizga is, not the note obtained by closing all the holes (U), but that given by hole IV. This permits us to determine the scale, as follows:

$$B\flat - \boxed{c} - d - e\flat - f$$

where *c* and *d* must sound lower than the tempered notes. If, however, we take *B* \flat as the tonic of the scale on this sibizga, we may say that the invention of the five-degree scale is here an accomplished fact.

The Bashkir *quray* which I examined at the Olympic Contests in Moscow (June 29, 1930) gives the following figures:

Fig. 4	441 - I (underneath)
51	492 - II
62	554 - III
61	615 - IV
59	674 - V
108	782 - U

From this it is clear that, in comparison with the Kirghiz sibizga, we have here a further step in the evolution of the instrument, its scale being enriched by the addition of another note, obtained from the open hole I, which is placed on the under side of the tube. Calculating the position of the fourth and the fifth from U we get for holes III and II theoretical values of 586 mm. and 521 mm. respectively (instead of the actual values of 554 mm. and 492 mm. respectively as measured). By taking as the tonic of the scale, not U, but hole V, we obtain a more exact determination of the fourth and the fifth at 506 mm. and 450 mm. respectively (in place of 492 mm. and 441 mm. respectively), and we are therefore justified in regarding hole V as the tonic of the scale of the *quray*, from analogy with a number of other instruments, headed by the

Turkomanian *tuiduk*. The scale of the quray may consequently be written thus:

$B\flat - \boxed{C} - d - e - f - g$

So far as we have here a fifth from the tonic (but not from the lower note) of our scale, to that extent we may speak of it as a five-note scale. If, however, we take $B\flat$ as the tonic, we may say that a six-note scale has been invented. Without a practical investigation of the subject I cannot categorically assert that the tonic in the case of the quray is got by opening hole V. I imagine it to be so, and I base my hypothesis solely on a possible analogy with the practice in Turkomanian music, and on the too great distance of the fifth from U obtained as an overtone and the same fifth obtained by opening hole II (the latter should give a considerably higher note than the former). In regard to the fifth from the note of hole V, the results should be fairly similar, whether due to overblowing or to the opening of hole I.

Passing on to the Turkomanian *tuiduk*, we observe first of all that, although it has one hole more than the Bashkir quray, its diapason is not greater than that of the latter, the extra hole merely introducing a chromatic note into the scale. The process is clearly shown in the following table, which sets forth the measurements of a *tuiduk* belonging to Niaz-Muhammed Kese of Merv:

Fig. 5

	459 - I (underneath)
59	518 - II
35	553 - III
32	585 - IV
57	642 - V
60	702 - VI
113	815 - U

The holes of the quray are here supplemented by a new opening between holes II and III of that instrument. The scale of the *tuiduk*, taking c as the tonic, though not quite coinciding with the analogous note of the tempered scale, will be:

$B\flat - \boxed{C} - d - e\flat - f - g$

The Turkish *mansur nay*, the measurements and scale of which may be found in an article by Raouf Yekta Bey,² gives the following table:

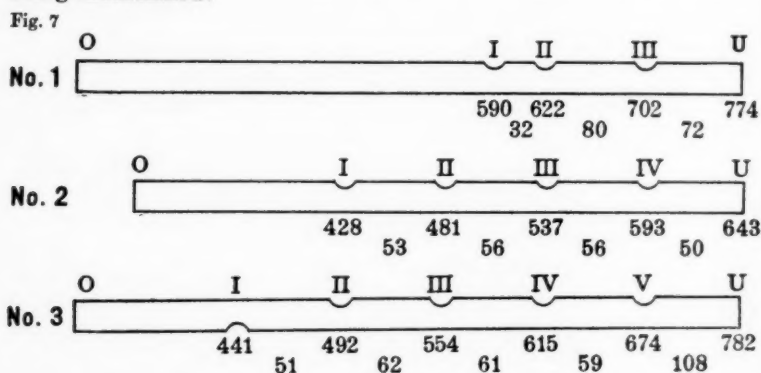
Fig. 6	403 - I (underneath)
93	496 - II
31	527 - III
31	558 - IV
62	620 - V
31	651 - VI
31	682 - VII
124	806 - U

With *c* as the tonic we get this scale:

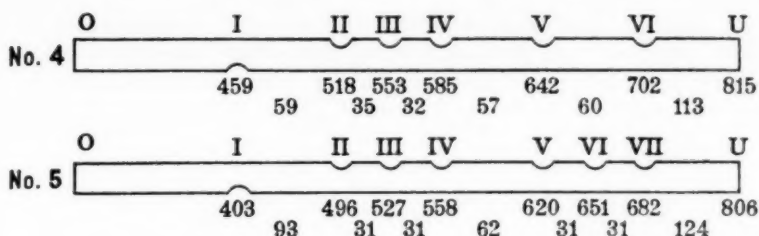
$B\flat - \boxed{C} - d\flat - d - e\flat - e - f - a\flat$

The appearance of the interval of a minor third above is explained by the abnormal (one and a half times) distance between holes I (underneath) and II.

In order that the reader may visualize and compare all these instruments belonging to various peoples of Turkish origin, I append a schematic representation on a reduced scale, the ratios between the individual instruments and between the parts of each being maintained:



²"La musique turque," Lavignac, "Encyclopédie de la musique," T. V. P. 3019. Paris, 1922.



As already indicated, we have in No. 1 a definite desire to get a semitone above the tetrachord. The insignificant distance between hole IV and U in No. 2 is a superfluous argument in favour of my hypothesis that the tonic of the scale of this instrument is obtained, not at the point U but at IV, and that it is a four-degree scale with the addition of a leading-note below. The dimensions of the remaining instruments are nearly identical, and this makes their comparison easier.

All are constructed on the so-called natural lineal measures. This is best seen in the tuiduk, in which the distance from O to I (underneath) is equal to two spans or quarters (the distance between the tips of the thumb and little finger of the extended hand) plus the width of the four fingers; and the distance from I (underneath) to U is equivalent to one span (the Turkomanian qarish) and one sere (a measure equal to the distance between the outstretched tips of the index and little fingers, or of the thumb and the index finger). As natural measures they cannot be considered accurate, and this explains certain differences in the measurements of the instruments I examined; in some cases the variations were due to the different methods of obtaining their proportions. The application of natural instead of standard measures to the construction of these flutes testifies to their very remote origin, which must in any case be referred to the pre-Sumerian period, since manifest traces of the Sumerian are to be seen in a series of considerably improved wind-instruments of Central Asia.

To return to the calculations by means of which I arrived at the proportions of these flutes, it should be pointed out that the distances between the fundamental holes of the tuiduk (I-[underneath] - II, II - IV, IV - V, and V - VI) are equal to three spans, which, expressed in terms of the Babylonian cubit, will give us 55.2 mm., equivalent to 1.5 inches of that cubit. The distances between II and III, and III and IV, represent one-half of this length. The distances between the fundamental holes of all the instruments mentioned above approximate 55.2 mm.

In the Turkomanian tuiduk the distances between the holes are reckoned from I (underneath), thanks to which the distance from VI to U proves to be excessive; it is sometimes shortened for acoustic reasons. S. Rybakov³ gives the following figures (in natural measures) for calculating the distances between the holes of the Bashkir quray:

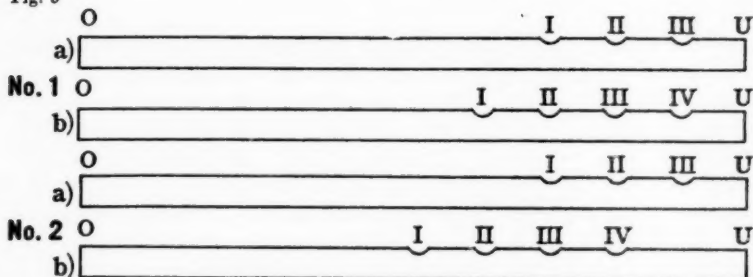
Fig. 8

???	I
1½	II
2	III
2½	IV
3	V
	U

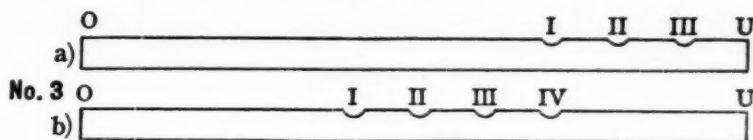
At the same time he omits to mention the distance between I (underneath) and II, and also the method of arriving at the general proportions of this instrument. As will be evident from the illustration (No. 3 of Fig. 7) Rybakov's method does not apply to the quray examined by me, which in this respect approximates to the Turkomanian tuiduk (No. 4 of Fig. 7).

The foregoing data will suffice to elucidate the theoretical basis for the determination of the distances between the holes of the other instruments. This has a direct connection with their scales, as I have partly indicated in mentioning the distances between I and II of flute No. 1, and I (underneath) and II of flute No. 5. How, then, were these scales developed? Why did the increase in the number of holes take the particular form shown in my illustrations? An answer will be found by studying the antique double flute, of which the following is a schematic drawing:

Fig. 9



³"The Quray, a Bashkir Musical Instrument," Russian Musical Gazette, Jan., 1895.



We have here three pairs of double flutes, each with a compass of a fourth, which is obtained by opening successively the three finger-holes (I, II, and III). The two instruments forming double flute No. 1 have a compass of a fifth; flute (a) of this pair has a scale identical with that of sibizga No. 1, and flute (b) with that of sibizga No. 2. If we regard flute (b) as giving effect to the four-degree scale, the fundamental note will be that of hole IV and not of U. In practice this flute is sometimes made shorter than flute (a), in which case it has only three finger-holes, resembling in this respect the Russian double flute (zhileika or sipovka) cited by N. J. Privalov⁴ on the authority of M. Guthrie.⁵

Double flute No. 2 belongs to the type of those discovered in the tomb of the daughter of Mena, the founder of Memphis, and described by Hermann Smith.⁶ Its dimensions are as follows:

Fig. 10	a	b
	293 — I	
38	331 — II	
38	369 — III	373 — I
35	404 — IV	38 411 — II
		37 448 — III
82		52 490 — U
	486 — U	

In the schematic presentation of this flute I have ignored the slight discrepancy in the measurements of the two instruments, in order to emphasize the principles on which their common scale (identical with that of the Bashkir quray) is constructed.

Double flute No. 3 marks a further stage in the development of the scales of wood-wind instruments, a stage beyond that attained by any of the longitudinal open flutes we have discussed.

⁴"The Musical Wind-Instruments of the Russian People," Part II, p. 114.

⁵"Dissertation sur les Antiquités de Russie," 1795.

⁶"The World's Earliest Music," pp. 25-41.

Characteristic of this development is the seven-degree scale within the compass of a minor seventh:

f - g - a - b \flat

[C] - d - e - f

Of double flutes having this scale I am acquainted with the Russian double pipes (Smolensk Government), mentioned by Privalov on page 118 of his book.

The seven-degree scale, composed of two so-called combined tetrachords, is not applied to the longitudinal open flutes, mainly because they have two principal registers—the fundamental and the five-degree. This renders unnecessary the adoption of a too extended scale (composed of two combined tetrachords), though it is quite permissible in the case of wind-instruments with fundamental and octave registers, such as the transverse flutes. In view of this peculiarity of the longitudinal open flutes I give the scales in both registers of all the instruments I examined:

Flute Nos. 1 and 1(a) = $\overbrace{c \ d \ e \ f} \quad \overbrace{g \ a \ b \ c'}$

Flute Nos. 2 and 2(b) = $\overbrace{B\flat \ c \ d \ e\flat \ f} \quad \overbrace{g \ a \ b\flat \ c'}$

Flute No. 3 and double flute No. II =

$\overbrace{B\flat \ c \ d \ e\flat \ f \ g \ a \ b\flat \ c' \ d'}$

Flute No. 4 =

$\overbrace{B\flat \ c \ d \ e\flat \ e \ f \ g \ a \ b\flat \ b \ c' \ d'}$

Flute No. 5 (the mansur nay) in both registers =

$\overbrace{B\flat \ c \ d\flat \ d \ e\flat \ e \ f \ g \ a\flat \ a \ b\flat \ b \ c' \ e\flat'}$

Raouf Yekta Bey indicates (p. 3019 of his article previously mentioned) the possibility of using a third register of the mansur nay, lying an octave lower than our first register. The Turkomanian tuiduk has a similar register, but it is never employed. That it must exist in the other longitudinal open flutes with which I have dealt is evident, but in view of its feeble tone and of the fact that it is disregarded in playing the tuiduk I have left it out of my calculations.

An examination of folk-music will show that it contains numerous traces of the scales which I have established, and their

presence in any composition enables us to determine the period to which it belongs. The oldest specimens are usually written on the most ancient four-degree scale, and are based on the instrumental, and the combined vocal and instrumental, musical culture of the time. Many examples of these melodies exist; I quote one of them—a Turkomanian cradle song (*huudi*) transcribed by V. A. Uspensky and appearing as No. 224 in the second volume of "Turkomanian Music":⁷



Here we have a pure four-degree scale with a descending movement to the tonic.

The double flute with two tubes, which give four-degree scales with the tonics and are separated from each other by a whole tone, produces either a four-degree scale with the addition of a leading-note below, or a five degree scale with its lowest note as the tonic.

As a specimen of the first I quote a Russian wedding song, No. 1 of M. A. Balakirev's collection, but here taken from P. P. Sokalsky's "Russian Folk-Music" (p. 52):

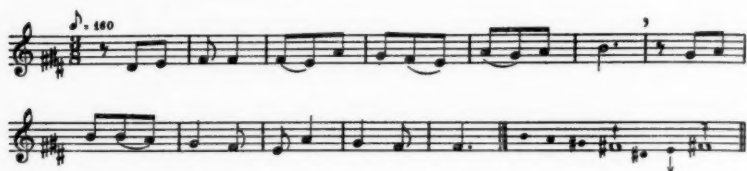


To illustrate the second case I have chosen an Armenian song from Spiridon Melikyan and Garegin Gardashyan's "The Folk-Songs of Van," Part II, No. 63:



⁷By V. M. Belaiev and V. A. Uspensky; not yet published.

The last two are examples of five-note scales. I will now give specimens of three different forms of six-note scales, the first being based on the four-degree scale, the second on the five-degree, and the third on the six-degree. The first type is exemplified by No. 52 of "The Folk-Songs of Van":



The second type is seen in a Kokand dancing song, transcribed in the 1880's by A. F. Eichhorn and hitherto unpublished:



An illustration of the third type is supplied by the Third Pythian Ode of Pindar (522-488 B.C.)—"To Apollo's Golden Lyre"—which I quote from Curt Sachs;⁸ for convenience of reading I have divided it into two short portions:



This last example is very like the Turkomanian folk-music for the tuiduk. It is quite possible that the melody of Pindar's Ode was written for the Greek double aulos. In any case the tetrachord

⁸"Musik des Altertums," Breslau, 1924, S. 79.

$g' - a' - b' - c'$, which is very convenient for performance on the second (lower) aulos, is most clearly defined.

Again to illustrate the third form of the six-note scale (with the tonic below), I have selected "Uzman gul," a song from Uspensky's unpublished records of Uzbek music:

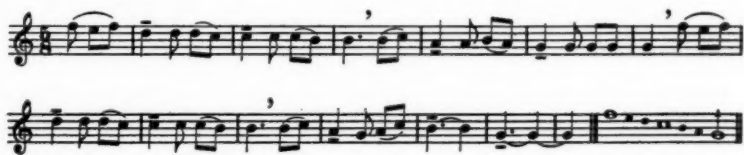


The formal structure (3 + 3) and (4 + 4) is interesting.

The seven-note scales assume many different forms. Here are two of the most typical, the first of which has the tonic in the middle. It is a Russian song (No. 29 of Balakirev's collection) and is quoted from page 97 of Sokolsky's "Russian Folk-Music":



The second has the tonic below. Whereas scales of the first type are rare, those of the second type are frequently encountered. Our example is No. 396 of A. V. Zataevich's "One Thousand Songs of the Kirghiz People" (p. 115):

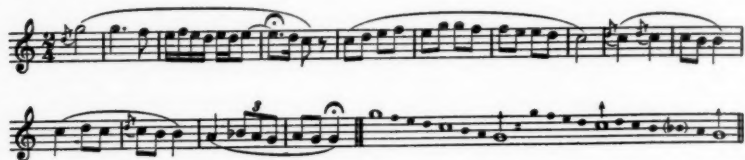


■ A third specimen based on the seven-note scale is borrowed from Belaiev and Uspensky's "Turkomanian Music" (No. 21, bars 90-107, p. 194):



The scale of this tune, which represents the close of a Turkomanian melody for the tuiduk, consists of two smaller scales: a four-degree and a five-degree. If the reader will compare the scale of the above excerpt (bearing in mind that the leading-note—or the note U—does not appear therein), with the theoretical scale of the Turkomanian tuiduk, set forth earlier in this article, he will realize that this melody depends very largely on the registers of the tuiduk.

My last example also comes from "Turkomanian Music" (No. 20, bars 31-44, p. 193):



It is chosen in order to emphasize the dependence of this composition for the longitudinal open flute on the structure of the instrument. The first eight bars of this tune belong to the upper register of the tuiduk and the remainder to the lower register.

Although I have been dealing with the question of flutes and their scales, it will be noted that I have not drawn my examples entirely from folk-music for the flute, but have included specimens of folk-song, and my right to do so may be questioned. I think, however, that I am quite justified, since the phenomena observed in connection with the development of the scales of the longitudinal open flute are common to the evolution of musical scales as a whole, and are not restricted to those of the wind-instruments. We know, for instance, that most of the national stringed instruments are tuned in fourths, which proves that their scales, like those of our flutes, are based on the tetrachord. The early stringed instruments of the lute type had a very limited number of frets on the finger-board. Farmer gives the scale of the ancient Arabian lute⁹ as follows:

Fig. 11

1	string					a - b - c' - d',
2	string				g	- a - bb - c'
3	string		d - e - f - g			
4	string	c - d - eb - f				

⁹Dr. H. G. Farmer, "Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence," London, 1930, p. 310.

Here the fourth and third strings, and the second and first, represent a combination of two tetrachords, their tonics being a whole tone apart, whilst the third and second strings represent a similar combination, but with their tonics separated by an interval of a fourth.

The Georgian *chonguri*, which at my request was measured at Tiflis by the well-known student of Georgian music, D. J. Arakchiev (Arakishvili), has the following scale, *c* being the tonic:

Fig. 12

1 string	f - g - a ^b - b ^b - c'
2 string	d - e - f - g - a
3 string	c - d - e ^b - f - g

On this instrument we have a specimen, which was lacking to us, of the combination of two tetrachords, the tonics of which are separated by a third (strings 2 and 1).

Thus the stringed instruments also provide us with an illustration of the extension of the scales by the addition of new tetrachords to the fundamental tetrachord. And as folk-song depends very largely, if not entirely, on the intervals worked out in instrumental music, to that extent the borrowing of examples from vocal as well as instrumental folk-music is permissible, since they illustrate the evolution of the scales and not any particular style of folk-music composition.

With regard to the internal structure of the tetrachords on wind and on stringed instruments, a similar difference is to be observed in the method of calculating intervals. Whereas those of the wind-instruments are merely determined by the application of the *Distanzprinzip* (i.e., by means of linear measurements), in the case of stringed instruments the *Konsonanzprinzip* plays the chief part (i.e., the intervals are calculated by fifths from the fundamental note of the scale) though, as we shall see immediately, the two are sometimes combined in the case of the strings.

In order to discuss this question we will make a few theoretical calculations. Let it be assumed, in the first place, that a pure fourth on the longitudinal open flutes is obtained by shortening their length by one-fourth;¹⁰ then, if the flute has a length of 600 mm., hole I will be at a distance of 450 mm. The remaining holes (II and III) being at equal distances from each other and from the

¹⁰Or, for the sake of greater accuracy, the length of their fundamental wave.

end (U) of the instrument, we shall obtain the following results in cents (hundredth parts of the tempered semitone):

Fig. 13	600 - U	0
50	550 - III	152
50	500 - II	316
50	450 - I	498

Now, the distance between U and III is generally greater than the remaining distances (which are equal to one another), and assuming that the purpose of this excess is to obtain a Pythagorean whole tone,¹¹ we can, in addition to the position of the pure fourth (450 mm.), fix that of a major Pythagorean second and divide the distance between these two points equally.

As a major Pythagorean second is the result of shortening the column of air of the open flute by one-ninth, we will fix the position of this interval at 534 mm., and the common scale of our flute will then be:

Fig. 14	600 - U	0
66	534 - III	204
42	492 - II	343
42	450 - I	498

If in the scale of our first flute we had an interval less than a major second (152 cents), then an interval very near to a minor third (316 cents), and lastly a pure fourth (498 cents), we shall have in the scale of our second flute a Pythagorean major second (204 cents), a pure fourth (498 cents), and an interval approximating to a neutral third (348 cents). As we know, this interval is obtained on stringed instruments¹² by the mechanical (metrical) division of the string into the equal portions between the points giving a major second and a pure fourth, the result being equivalent to 355 cents. It is of very frequent occurrence on stringed instru-

¹¹This is a sign of the influence of stringed instruments on wind-instruments, and a departure from the comparatively primitive method of calculating the intervals on the latter.

¹²Its determination is ascribed to the Persian musician Zalzal, who lived in Bagdad in the eighth century A.D.; but this is of course open to question, as the discovery of this interval must be referred to a very remote period.

ments; in particular we have it in the scale of the Georgian chonguri (337 cents), where, in my layout of the scale (see No. 12) it is replaced by the interval of a minor third. All this proves, in the first place, that the intervals of both wind and stringed instruments have a definite resemblance to one another and a historical heredity; and, secondly, that whereas the minor and the neutral thirds were determined in the scale of the wind-instruments, the major third (408 cents) was fixed later in the scale of the stringed instruments.

Having dealt with the inner structure of the tetrachords, let us return to the question of the seven-degree scale which, as I have already stated, proves to be a combination of two four-degree scales.

We know that the distances between the holes of national wind-instruments are identical, except that, in a few instances where the instruments have been more or less improved, the distance between U and III is approximately half as great again. Consequently we add to our two flutes, with three holes each, three more holes at the same distances; it is as though we were supplementing each of our four-degree flutes by the addition of another four-degree flute, shorter, but made to the scale of the larger instrument. We then obtain the following results:

Fig. 15

	600 - U	0		600 - U	0
50			66		
	550 - VI	152		534 - VI	204
50			42		
	500 - V	316		492 - V	343
50			42		
	450 - IV	498		450 - IV	498
50			42		
	400 - III	702		408 - III	668
50			42		
	350 - II	933		366 - II	856
50			42		
	300 - I	1200		324 - I	1067

For comparison between the theoretical scales of our longitudinal open flutes and those of stringed instruments I append two forms of the latter: (a) a scale with Pythagorean intervals, and (b) a mixed scale, in which the third, sixth, and seventh are neutral and the remaining intervals Pythagorean:

Fig. 16	Prime	0	0
	Second	204	204
	Third	(294) 408	343
	Fourth	498	498
	Fifth	702	702
	Sixth	(792) 906	856
	Seventh	996	1067
	Octave	1200	1200

In (a) we get a minor seventh (996 cents), a more usual interval than a major seventh (1110 cents).

If we compare our four scales we shall find that:

- (1) In the flute with equal distances—the tetrachord with a minor third—its two upper intervals do not show the gradual rise to which we are accustomed in the diatonic (seven-degree) scale; and
- (2) In the flute with one and a half times the distance between U and VI we have a somewhat lower fifth, a definitely neutral third and sixth, and an interval of a seventh at 1067 cents, midway between the minor (996 cents) and the major (1110 cents) sevenths of the Pythagorean system.

From a number of measurements which I made of Uzbek *tanburs* I am able to state that in their scale we have an effective neutral third and sixth, but in the shifting of the fret of the seventh the major and minor Pythagorean sevenths are achieved, as well as the neutral seventh at 1057 cents; this coincides with the magnitude of the interval which I deduced theoretically—the interval obtained by opening hole I of the flute with a distance equal to one and a half times the distance between U and VI. This *tanbur* is played in ensembles with the Uzbek *nay* (a transverse flute), their scales being identical, and we thus have further confirmation of the fact that the scales of the wind and the stringed instruments (and consequently of vocal and instrumental music) are interdependent.

In bringing this article to a close I would draw the following fundamental conclusions:

- (1) The evolution of the musical scale as an ordered process dates from the discovery of the interval of a fourth;
- (2) The instances of scales based on the tetrachord, which I have discussed in the course of my remarks, refer to a far earlier period than that of Greek music;
- (3) The musical methods still prevailing among peoples who have retained their ancestral cultures will help to explain many of the peculiarities of ancient music.

(Translated by S. W. Pring.)

SONGS OF THE NORTHWEST

By MARIUS BARBEAU

WHEN an Easterner arrives in the up-river country close to the Northwest Coast and the Alaskan border, his first impressions are of splendid mountains capped with snow in the summer, of streams foaming and full of salmon spawning, of gorgeous wild flowers and fruit, and of unknown natives walking or riding on horseback along the trails. The Indians are Asiatic-like; their faces resemble Buddha's: a mixture of self-indulgence and mysticism—broad, massive and sensuous, yet with a mysterious twinkle in the eye that is like a riddle. The strange charm of that northern country is tantalizing; it never quite surrenders to the outsider the last word of its enigma.

The grandiose strangeness of nature might be oppressive if it remained silent. But it soon finds a voice. The songs of the Indians glide down the slopes from hidden trails and sheltered huts. They are lofty and aerial; women and children sing more than men in the open, and their voices are clear and silvery. There is a sense of freedom about them and a lyric inspiration that spells enchantment. How entrancing those tunes, how beautiful those voices! The name of "mountain songs" or "love songs" is often given by the white settlers to those chants, though they may be neither to the singers themselves, who find in them an outlet for their changing moods: lonesomeness, vacuity, longing. . . .

I thought I should gather some of them on my phonograph (a small Standard Edison with which I collect songs for the National Museum of Canada). So I engaged some natives to sing for me in the summer of 1920 and in subsequent years. A collection of about three hundred songs was the result, a few samples of which I will give here.

The so-called mountain or love song that first arrested my attention was not a melody with a single form as I had surmised, but several definite tunes after the same pattern, with words that varied almost at pleasure. It was rather puzzling. It seemed as if I could not capture any variant that was quite as beautiful as the ones I casually heard in the distance, made, as it were, of passing whims, of luminous air and of the scent of alpine flowers. But some of them were akin to the live song that somehow could not be trapped for love or money. Here is one of them in inept black and white, without its slow descending glides, its remarkable diminuendos, and shorn of the limpid voice-quality that coloured it with longing and Oriental fatalism.

Honekone

Met. $\text{♩} = 100$ (Adagio)


Ho - nay ko - nay_ ho-nay kaw_ ho-nay kaw_ ho-nay
 nay kaw_ ho - ka - nay kaw ho-na kaw-n - un un - ku - nay u - na
 kaw u-naw kaw-un un - ku - nay u - na kaw_ un - ku-na-taw_
 un - ku-na-taw ha-ta-ha-taw ha-taw a - taw ha-taw-on_ un - ku - nae


This lyric song is a vehicle for the singer's feelings, whatever they chance to be. It holds no word, only meaningless syllables. It was sung by Ada Quok, a young woman of the Tahltans, a band of Siberian-like nomads on the Yukon frontier. But it closely resembles many others that are familiar throughout the Northern Rockies. It is one of a type—perhaps the most familiar in that semi-boreal country that blossoms under the breath of the warm currents from the South Seas of the Pacific.

When the Carrier and Gitksan Indians assembled in the canyons of the upper Skeena to fish salmon and celebrate the return of plenty, they began to beat their skin-drums and to sing songs that soon permeated the air. A great voice at times fell from the cliffs down upon the swift stream where fishermen speared the spring salmon or the sockeye. No one who has ever heard those songs of mid-summer and swayed to the rhythm of their drum-beats can forget them. Remote as they are in a way, they come near to the heart of all alike, white man or Indian, for they are broad, melodious, and deeply human. If their words are lost on all but the natives, they are uttered with so much colour and feeling that they seem to mean something. That is why the white people know them as "mountain songs" and "love songs" and attentively listen to them. Somehow they are the live embodiment of summer and harvest.

One of them is the challenge of a chief who boasts of his victories over women. Yet it sounds more like an appeal, or the cooing of an adolescent dove pining for love in the foliage. Its rhythm is characteristic. It consists of drum-beats in 6-8 against a melody in 1-, 2-, or 3-4.

(I am a chief)

Drum  *same regular speed throughout*



 Tems-ta an-gya - law ee-wil - da-kaw-den lun - yaw
 hay _____ kap-ya-kaet a - hal-gya al-kway-dzu skee-way aw - aw tsee-
 naw ha - nay _____ ay - hay hay-tee nay - hae - nay _____ ha -
 lae-it nay-ka-nae maurh - ee _____ nay hay _____ gyal-wil-tahl wee -
 mee tem-an - taw-ren ay - haw _____ tee nay-hae - yay _____ hay hay hay-ee
 yay hae - nay _____ sa-arh-pant tru-nay yae - hae _____ wil-sae -
 hlaek hla-ray - nen nay - hay _____ tem-am-tay lu _____ yu - ee ka-la nay-maw
 haw haw-ee haw haw hay _____ hay hay hay-ee yay hae - nay

The meaning of its words is: "You shall not be my successful rival, for I have always been bold (with women) since my youth! I am a chief, you cannot excel me. I will blaze the trail and you shall follow like a slave in my path." It was first sung by a Bear-Lake Indian, belonging to a Wolf clan, and named Otter, who composed it about sixty years ago. It was meant to relieve his feelings, after his wife had deserted him. That perhaps explains his futile taunt to his rival: "I will blaze the trail and you shall follow like a slave in my path."

Among the finest songs of that musical country—for the natives loved singing by tradition from birth—are the lullabies and the dirges. The lullabies are lively and graceful; they show the deep affection of parents for children, the pride of the chiefs in their heirs, and their hopes for a bright future. A curious

thing about them is that they are the private property of the families that use them; they are like the coat of arms or totems familiar on the carved poles of the Northwest Coast, so far as they refer to family history and privileges. Of the two examples given here, the first belongs to a clan of Eagles on the Nass and speaks of the hunting-grounds of Hyanmas, on Portland Canal. That Eagle clan still remembers its migrations down the coast from the north. Ultimately it came from Asia, over Bering, like the other tribes of the far Northwest.

Nadudu

(Dear little boy!)

Met. $\text{♩} = 106$ (Adagio)

Drum  etc.



Na-du na-du-du na-du na-du-du na-du na-du-du na-du na-du-du

du-u ku-na-du na-du-du na-du na-du-du na-du na-du-du hu-na-du na-du-du

ahl-ta day-dai kway-dawts ahl-ta-day-da-ee kway-dawts may-dzee sem-

a say tem-wil-wee gyæday nae-dem wil-kaw awwee sa-raet-aks tep-yæ-ee lawhl

hyan-mas dem-wil-wil-mukl wee-yæ yawhl tem-a-day ahl-tsem-gul-hat tem-an-si-

gyaw aw-tsem ka-lep-lip na-du na-du-du na-du

na-du-du na-du na-du-du u ku-na-du na-du-du

na-du na-du-du na-du na-du-du hu hu na-du na-du-du

The words of the refrain mean: "Dear boy [*nadu*], dear boy, dear little boy." The child then is supposed to speak to his mother, while she rocks him to sleep in her arms:

"Sit up at night, my sister! Sit up at night with me, to make me grow, till I become a man. I will go to the large creeks of my forefathers, to Hyannas, where I will catch the spring salmon. Then I will fish at Echo-cliffs, and I will gather the backbones of salmon for Thunder-Woman, my sister!"

Thunder-woman is a term applied to an old woman unable to work any longer; and she is fed on fish spines. The song goes on:

"I long to be at the place of groundhogs on both sides of the mountain, where my forefathers set their snares, at Kanuks, where the leaves are ever green, at Place-of-Snares, at Half-leaf where some trees are pale green and others spruce green, at Lying-across, the ridge that lies in the path of the creek, where often we have lived together, poor, wretched and starving. O sister, while you look after me, till I grow up, you will not be able to go anywhere. Here you must sit up with me, sister mine! Boy, dear little boy. . . ."

Another lullaby, *Who's this young woman?*, for little girls, belonged to a Wolf clan of an up-river tribe. The Wolf, like the Eagle clans, trace back their ancestors to the north. Some of them came down the Northwest Coast in their dug-out canoes, whereas others trekked from the northern interior southwards—those, namely, who owned the song:

Temram Sakalamps

(*Who's this young woman?*)

Met. Melody ♩ = 63 (Largo); ♩ 2 = 100 (Adagio)

Drum  etc.

 etc.

§ Refrain: A - hay hay hay a - hay hay hay a - hee

 a - hay a - hay a - hay a - hay a - hee

 a - hyay ha-yay hay hay ha-hay hay hay hay a - hee

I. Much faster than the drum

 tem - ram sa - ka - lamps tral - kyal - kum ha - nak kam-wil - tku-dee

rall. normal

 wil - kut a - haw haw hay hay - hee

II. faster

 tem-ram sa-ka-niht tral -

 kyal kum ha-nak kan - wil tee-wit-kay hay hay hay - hee

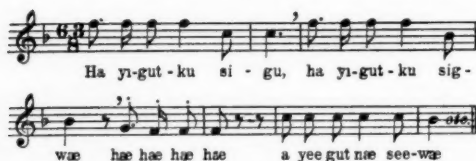
The refrain begins with meaningless syllables, and ends with: "Who's this young woman?" Then the words hasten forth, in the second part: "I will pick the berries before they are ripe," that's her wish, the woman. For she knows what she can buy for dried berries."

The women on the upper Nass river still go to the hills and gather wild berries when they are ripe, and dry them into cakes in the sun. Then they exchange their fruit cakes with others for goods, silk handkerchiefs and other things. The women who have no berries for the barter then wish they had been more industrious; they covet the goods and they say that "Only sand fills up their little fruit basket," but they think: "Next year, I will start early and pick berries before they are ripe."

The dirges are more poignant than anything I have yet heard anywhere. Some of them are weird to the utmost. For once in their lives, the stoic Indians cast restraint to the winds and give vent to pathos and grief. No one could resist the sense of utter tragedy that fills the air as soon as the drum beats its deep note and a voice doleful with pain cries out the first notes of the traditional dirge. The flood-gates to the nether world are opened and the people bow their heads in the presence of Fate. Professional criers (like those of ancient Greece) rend the air with their lament, pull their hair, and sprinkle ashes over their heads.

When Dr. Ernest MacMillan, head of the Toronto Conservatory, and I were spending some time together on the lower Nass, close to Portland Canal, a tragedy unexpectedly brought grief to the natives stationed at a cannery where we camped. Several of them died of poisoning, after eating decayed salmon roe. Dirges broke out early one morning, and throughout the days that followed we could hear women moaning in the woods around us. Even their weeping was sing-song-like, though it was unconventional; like this:

Moaning



For impressiveness nothing approached the song of Skateen, the Wolf head-chief of a Nass River tribe. The lament of the

mourners rose plaintively and fell in descending curves, like the wind in a storm. It was the voice of nature crying out. For modernity it went beyond the moderns. The intervals sounded strange, at times like quarter-tones. I heard Dr. MacMillan say, when he was trying to transcribe it from the phonograph: "Those things can't be written down on our stave, they simply can't."

But they could, our stave being a rack upon which to pin down sounds and rhythms whatever they are, at least approximately. And here is the transcription as it looks:

Hano

(Dr. MacMillan's transcription)

Met. ♩ = 78 (Larghetto)

Drum  etc.

Refrain: Ha - no _____ ha - no _____ hee hee yai _____

yai _____ ha - no _____ ha - no _____ hee hee yai _____

hay _____ ha - no _____ yai _____ hee ee-yai ay - ee yay - ay yai _____ ee -

yai _____ ha - no ha - no - æ hee hee yæ hæ _____

The syllables in *Hano* are meaningless. The only words of the song are: "He used to be the head-chief!"

It is interesting to compare this formal dirge of Skateen with that of his relatives of the lake to the south: the dirge of Weerhæ, Big-wind, which I recorded and transcribed later:

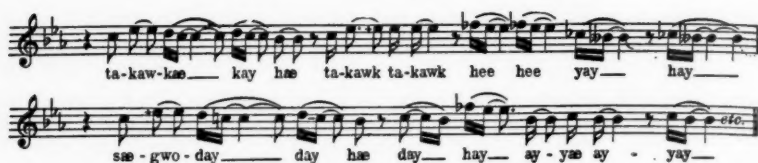
Dirge of Big-Wind

Met. Drum: ♩ = 54 (Largo)

Drum  etc.

Ha - naw yaw ay _____ yay hæ ha - no ha - no hee hee

ye ha - no nee-æ-ee næ-ee hæ yay ay hæ _____ e - yay _____ yay _____



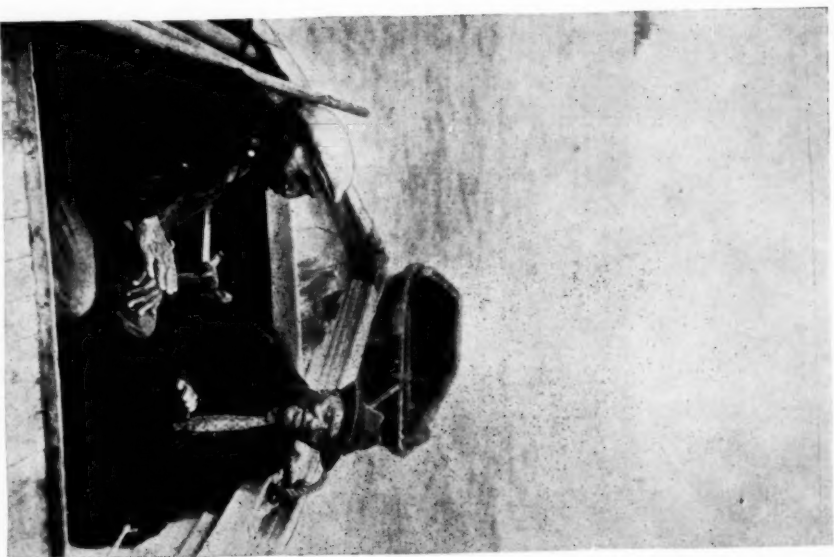
The Indian songs of the Northern Rockies are typical of the country to which they belong. Like the totem-poles, they express the soul of a bold and restless people whose ethnic affinities are Asiatic rather than American. They mean joy or sorrow to the people, as they usually conjure tribal recollections or arouse emotions seated deep in the singers.

The hunters sang implorations over the bears and the mountain goats they killed, to appease the spirits. The medicine-men clamoured their incantations and loudly beat their drums. The warriors on their way home intoned hymns of victory or chanted their grief. Peace was sealed to the tune of a Haida *kawagyanee* (treaty song). The chiefs in the feast-house boasted of their prestige. Whenever they gathered for duty, business or pleasure, the people resorted to song rather than to the spoken word, since it brought them together more readily and stirred response into a common audible voice. Singing was far more habitual to those semi-nomads than it is to us in our modern surroundings. It was raised by necessity and custom to the rank of language—a language expressive and self-sustained, that reached out for greater things and larger spaces. It was the outcry of transient emotions in terms of power and permanence. Hence its importance and diversity.

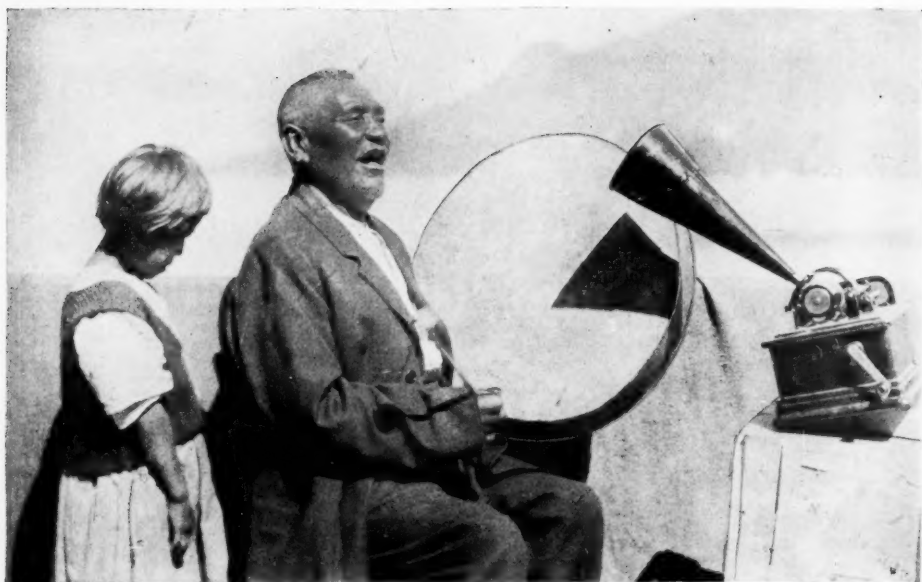
The songs of those northwestern Indians differ on the whole markedly from the dance-tunes of the nations east of the Rockies. They are vastly more varied and interesting. They are not confined like them to the function of accompanying monotonous dance-steps. Their scales are different, more exotic to our ear; their melodic range, more extensive and colourful; their themes, much richer. The Northerner's custom of usually singing to words rather than to meaningless syllables—as other Indians are wont to do—opens wide vistas of historical and literary interest. Their songs are valuable for their texts no less than for their melodies. They belong to a world rather apart in America, a world that is reminiscent of Asia and the Pacific. The continued study of our large museum collections from the northwestern area will lead to comparisons with similar materials from Siberia



Kwarakl, a Skeena River Indian singing a medicine-man's song to the accompaniment of his skin drum



Tralahet and Big-Wind singing the Agulhean song on the way down the Nass



Tralahæt (Frank Bolton) singing Nass River songs on the phonograph



A group of Nass River Indians singing gambling songs around the phonograph

and elsewhere. And it is likely that the genetic relations already hinted at on other grounds between the tribes on both sides of Bering will meet with further confirmation.

Even at the present day, long after the old customs on the whole have collapsed, the northwestern Indians are still fond of song, and some of their songs are not as old as one might believe. An instance of this is the song *Haguhlæn*, which is still popular on the Nass River, on the Alaskan frontier.

One day, as Dr. MacMillan and I were coming down the river in a speed-boat, the Indians with us burst into song to while away the time. To the beats of their drums they sang to each other: "Hush! Stop your idle chatter! Why don't you mind your own affairs?" Old Geetiks, one of the best singers among them, sang the solos in between refrains. The song was swift and spirited. I could not understand the full meaning of the words, but our Indians, standing at the stern of the boat, were enjoying the fun by themselves. We then learned through our interpreter that the song referred to an old story—twenty or thirty years old already—and that this song was old Geetiks' own composition.

Geetiks was the last of the pagans on the Nass. All the other chiefs had renounced their customs and flocked to the mission-town down the river—at Place-of-Scalps, an old fishing station for halibut. It had all happened at Christmas one year—in 1880. The tribes had assembled for a pagan feast, down the river. But something happened. A craze swept over them like wildfire. Everybody was caught. No one resisted. To become a Christian was the thing. "Don't pay your *pottatch* (pagan) debts" was the catchwork of the new Christians. Everyone was glad to get rid of his debts, as everyone was in debt. The people wanted to start with a clean sheet. Another condition was, the chiefs must discard all their wives but one. One wife to one Christian. But this Geetiks would not do. For years, he stayed on at the village of Geetiks, alone with his three wives. The others made fun of him. They thought he cared too much for his wives, or else he found them too valuable as workers. Then one Christmas day Geetiks was seen at the front door of the church: he had at last made up his mind to be monogamous and enter the fold. When he came up for baptism the next day, the people were surprised to see him bring along a young woman from Hutseenee, a strange tribe to the north. He hadn't been able to make up his mind to choose between his three pagan wives. They were so equally meritorious that he would rather not hurt the feelings of two in favour of a third, so he had dismissed them all three.

But now the people laughed at him. The families of his former wives taunted him. He felt that Christianity somehow had disgraced him. But he did not accept defeat lying down. Very soon he gave a large feast in the pagan style and distributed so many gifts that he buried the slanderers under his lavishness. Shamed, they would no longer let their tongues loose, because he had sung to them the song to which we now listened:

CHORUS: *Hush, stop your idle chatter! Why don't you mind your own affairs?*

Why do you gossip about me? Why do you point your finger at me when your own hand is unclean? I speak to you, women of the Salmon-weirs!

CHORUS: *Hush, stop your idle chatter!*

Why do you single me out as the only black sheep? For this alone must I believe that I am lost like the rest? Oh, stop your idle chatter! I speak to you, women of the Place-of-Scalps.

CHORUS: *Hush, stop your idle chatter!*

You meddle in my affairs and waste your breath over me. . . . Why should I mind you when my heart pines away? My own sweetheart I have not seen for a full moon, the Hutseeene beauty that will make a Christian of me!

CHORUS: *Hush, stop your idle chatter!*

Haguhlaen

(Dr. MacMillan's transcription)

Met. $\text{♩} = 98$ (Larghetto)

Drum $\frac{3}{4}$

Refrain: Ha - gu - hlaen_ ha-gwee-yae - hae ha - gu - hlaen_ ha-gwee-yae - hae,

ha - gu - hlaen_ ha-gwee-yae - hae ha - gu - hlaen_ ha-gwee-yae - hae

ha - gu - hlaen_ ha-gwee-yae - hay ha - gu - hlaen_ ha-gwee-yae - hay

End of Refrain

ha - gu - hlaen_ ha-gwee-yae - hae ha - gu - hlaen_ ha-gwee-yae - hae.

Tee-weel-se-gun_ wee-lu - wi - lay ma - kan - urh ee-lee-sae wee-gwae

Songs of the Northwest

111

gyee-urh tee-lip gwæ hu-way-læn ksem git-rha-teen gya a-næ-ee-gwæ

ha-gu-hlæn— ha-gwee-yæ-hæ ha-gu-hlæn— ha-gwee-yæ-hæ

D.S. al Fine

TO OUR READERS

"The Musical Quarterly" was intended by its founder, Rudolph E. Schirmer, and its first editor, Oscar G. Sonneck, as a non-commercial organ. At no time has the magazine swerved from that policy. The publishers, for eighteen years, have generously and cheerfully met any shortage, eager to maintain the standards set in the beginning, and content with the ever growing approval which the magazine has earned in America and abroad.

Every magazine, conceived and carried on along the lines of "The Musical Quarterly," is experiencing the effects of "hard times," and not a few such magazines have suspended publication altogether. Without the continued support of its readers, "The Musical Quarterly" may have to succumb to the same fate.

With the mounting cost, the only remedy for the present lies in curtailing the expense. For this reason the publishers and the editor find themselves obliged slightly to reduce the bulk of the individual numbers; and they believe that by omitting, for the time being, the editor's "Views and Reviews" and the Quarterly Book-List the readers' loss will be least serious.

The editor will welcome any other suggestions that readers may care to submit to him.

C. E.

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